THE ORIENTAL CULTS IN ROMAN BRITAIN

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR
M. J. VERMASEREN

TOME SIXIÈME

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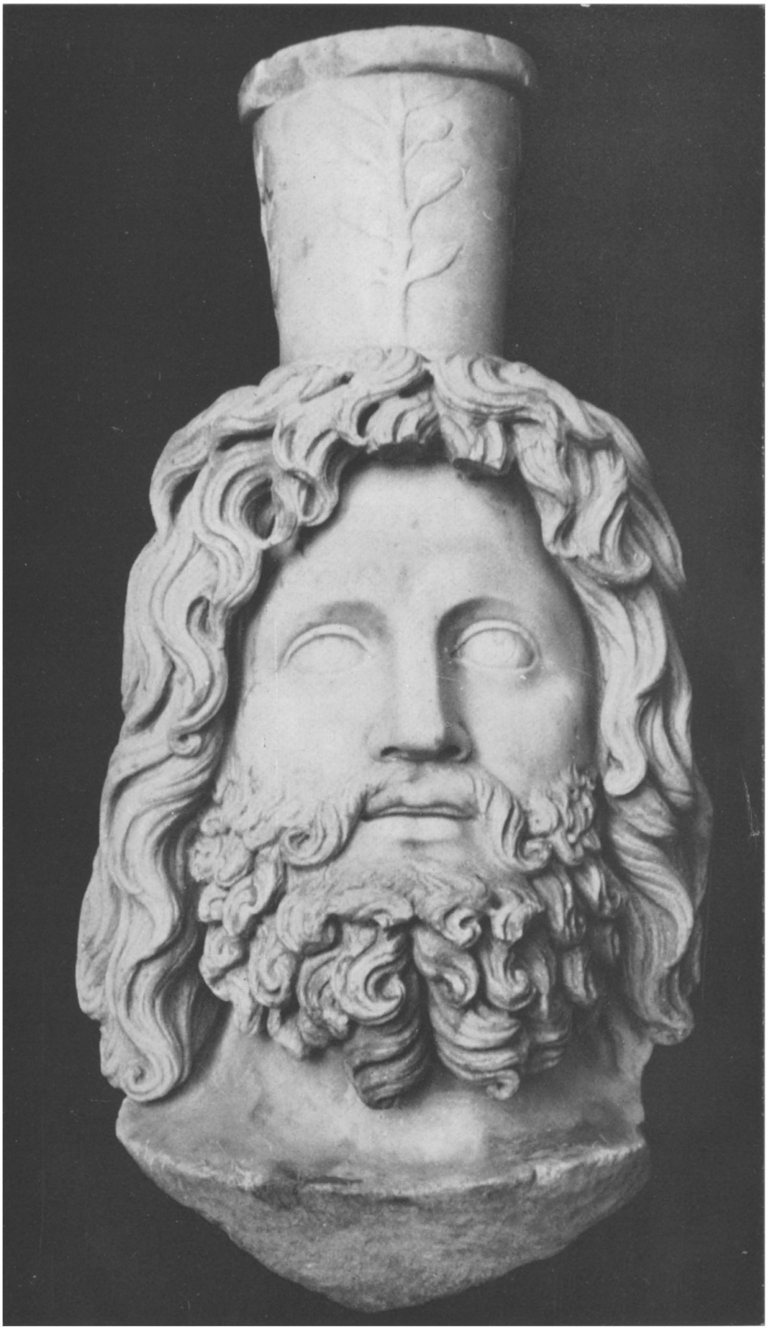
LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1965



EVE AND JOHN R. HARRIS

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE, A FOLDING PLAN, 6 FIGURES AND
20 PLATES

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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PREFACE

It is now rather more than sixty years since the appearance of Moore's brief survey of the oriental cults in Roman Britain based on the monuments published in *CIL* ¹), sixty years during which the volume of material available for study has been greatly increased by excavation and research, and understanding both of the cults themselves and of the Romano-British background transformed. The purpose of the present monograph, as of others in this series, is simply to re-assess the evidence as it now appears ²), with such incidental observations as may be necessary to the description of individual pieces, but without any attempt to discuss the cults as such or to view them against the broader canvas of Romano-British religion and civilisation ³).

The gathering of material has entailed a systematic search through previous publications and the visiting of museum and other collections, and has been supplemented by private communications from many sources, but we are, nevertheless, acutely aware that minor objects in smaller provincial museums or in private hands, some perhaps of interest and importance, may still have been overlooked. In the citation of bibliography we have not endeavoured to be exhaustive, and have consciously omitted much that is merely repetitive or of little scientific value, as well as references to works of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such as the Gough editions of Camden's *Britannia*, the majority of which are to be found in *CIL* and Bruce's *Lapidarium*

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¹) *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XI (1900), pp. 47-60.

²) The absence of any reference to Christian remains is justified, if justification be required, by the existence of a recent and comprehensive study (*JBAA*, XVI (1953), pp. 1-24), and the omission of the various pavements and other monuments with Orphic and Bacchic associations by the difficulty of gauging their religious significance.

³) For the most recent treatment see Richmond, *Roman Britain*, 2nd ed., pp. 186 f., particularly pp. 207-12, and compare Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 2nd ed., pp. 261 f.

Septentrionale. Original descriptions in the earlier editions of Camden and in Horsley's *Britannia Romana* have, however, been quoted, and, for the convenience of those to whom local periodicals and the like may not be readily accessible, check references to *CIL*, *Lap. Sept.*, and the corpus volumes of Cumont, Vermaseren and Merlat have been added throughout 1). Titles of books and periodicals of frequent occurrence in the notes have been abbreviated, and those abbreviations which are not immediately explicit or may perhaps be unfamiliar are listed below 2).

In preparing the text we have had the advantage of working in the library of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and are indebted to the Librarian, Mr R. F. Ovenell, and his staff for their unfailing help. To Mr J. W. Brailsford, Mr N. C. Cook, Mr R. Merrifield and Mr G. F. Willmot we owe our thanks for their kindness in allowing us ready access to material in their care, and to them as well as to others, particularly Mr G. C. Boon, Mr C. M. Daniels, Dr D. B. Harden, Dr Grace Simpson and Mr Ivor Fields we are grateful for help in the matter of illustrations. For permission to reproduce material in museums, and for the use of published photographs and plans we wish to thank the several institutions and individuals whose courtesy is acknowledged in the list of plates, and to all those who have offered information, advice and helpful criticism, to many of whom reference is made in the notes, we should like here to express our gratitude.

Our greatest debt is, however, to Prof. and Mrs W. F. Grimes, Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee and Prof. I. A. Richmond, without whose kindly interest we could scarcely have attempted this survey. Prof. and Mrs Grimes have not only allowed us to make full use of the material from the Walbrook Mithraeum, but have generously read through the draft of this section and suggested many improvements. Prof. Toynbee and Prof. Richmond have, with characteristic kindness, read and discussed with us the whole manuscript, thus

1) Kan, *Juppiter Dolichenus*, and the earlier catalogues of Dolichene material, to which references will be found in Merlat's volume, have not in general been cited.

2) Many of the sculptures referred to in the succeeding pages are fully discussed by Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee in *Art in Britain under the Romans* (published 1964, when the present volume was already in proof).

saving us from many errors, and have throughout allowed us to trespass freely upon their knowledge and experience. To them we gratefully offer our sincere thanks, without, however, wishing in any way to implicate them in our shortcomings.

Oxford 1963

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA — *Archaeologia Aeliana*
AJ — *The Archaeological Journal*
AJA — *American Journal of Archaeology*
Ant. J — *The Antiquaries Journal*
Arch. — *Archaeologia*
Art in R.B. — *Art in Roman Britain* (1st ed. 1962, 2nd ed. 1963)
B.M. — The British Museum
Brit. Rom. — *Britannia Romana*
Cat. Caerleon — *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire*
Cat. Carlisle — *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Carlisle Museum, Tullie House* (2nd ed. 1922)
Cat. Chester (Haverfield) — *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (*Journ. Chester & North Wales Architect. Arch. & Hist. Soc.*, VII (1900))
Cat. Chester (Wright and Richmond) — *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*
Cat. Durham — *A Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham*
Cat. Gloucester — *Catalogue of the Romano-British Sculptures in the Gloucester City Museum*
Cat. Guildhall Museum — *Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum* (2nd ed. 1908)
Cat. Newcastle — *Roman Inscriptions and Sculptures belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne* (*AA*, II (1926), pp. 52-124 — the pages renumbered)
CIG — *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Boeckh)
CIL — *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CIMRM — *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (Vermaseren)
CMRED — *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danubianorum* (Tudor) (to be published in *Et.Pré.*)
CR — *The Classical Review*
CRAI — *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
EE — *Ephemeris Epigraphica*
Handbook, York — *A Handbook to the Antiquities in the Grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (8th ed. 1891)
Hist. Northumb. (Hodgson; NCH) — *A History of Northumberland*
IG — *Inscriptiones Graecae*
ILN — *The Illustrated London News*
JBAA — *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JRS — *The Journal of Roman Studies*
Jup. Dol. — *Jupiter Dolichenus, Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse*

London in Roman Times — *London in Roman Times, London Museum Catalogue no. 3* (1930, reprinted 1946)
LS — *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (Bruce)
MdI — *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung*
Mithras — *Mithras, de geheimzinnige god* (the references in brackets are to the English translation: *Mithras, The Secret God*)
MMM — *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (Cumont)
NCH — The Northumberland County History Committee
NChr. — *The Numismatic Chronicle*
PSA — *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*
R. B. Guide — *(A) Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (B.M. 1922 and 1951, reprinted (2nd ed.) 1958, (3rd ed.) 1964)
RCHM — Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
Rec. Arch. Exc. — *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (ed. Bruce-Mitford)
Rép. — *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (Merlat)
Romans in Redesdale — *The Romans in Redesdale* (NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XV, pp. 63-159)
S. Prisca — *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*
Trans. C. & W. — *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*
VCH — The Victoria History of the Counties of England

CHAPTER ONE

MITHRAISM

Until quite recently the evidence for Mithraism in Roman Britain consisted largely of isolated finds, chiefly from the north of England, and only one undoubted Mithraeum, that of Housesteads, had actually been excavated, but during the last fifteen years, the picture has changed considerably and the discoveries at Carrawburgh (1950), Rudchester (1953), London (1953-4) and Caernarvon (1959) have increased the number of known Mithraea to five, producing at the same time some individual objects of unusual interest. The overall distribution of Mithraic material has not, however, been modified significantly by these discoveries and, as might be expected [1]), the indications of the cult are still mainly from military zones, the only civilian Mithraeum being that in the City of London (Walbrook).

Although conforming in essentials to the typical plan of a Mithraeum, the British temples differ in detail of layout and construction, as well as in orientation [2]), and few broad generalisations can be justified. It may, however, be noted that all five were constructed at ground or semi-basement level, probably because in each case the nature of the site would have rendered subterranean excavation extremely difficult [3]), and all were apparently independent structures not integrally connected with other buildings [4]).

[1]) *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, pp. 24-6 (pp. 30-34).

[2]) See below pp. 17, n. 3, 37, n. 2.

[3]) Even at Rudchester, where the site of the temple is on the brow of a hill, the subsoil (boulder clay) is waterlogged.

[4]) It is possible that further excavation of Roman town sites in Britain, particularly those, such as St. Albans and Silchester, which have not subsequently been built upon, may reveal Mithraic cult rooms in houses, and a few civil sites have in fact produced stray finds (below pp. 45-7) which might indicate the presence of Mithraic devotees. The 1958 season at St. Albans revealed a curious underground chamber with access from the street, which may have been an unfinished shrine, although it should be emphasised that there were no finds to associate it with any particular deity (*JRS*, XLIX (1959), p. 120; *Ant. J*, XXXIX (1959), pp. 1 f.).

Apart from these temples certain other constructions have from time to time been identified as Mithraea, although in no case can the attribution be regarded as satisfactory. An underground structure at Colchester [1]), formerly explained as a cistern, was re-excavated by Hull in 1929 and described by him as a Mithraeum [2]), but the correctness of this identification has been doubted [3]), and the building, which has no distinctively Mithraic characteristics, seems more likely to have been a storage cellar. No Mithraic objects were found in the excavation, and indeed, with one possible exception [4]), none is known from the *colonia*. A second underground room discovered at Burham, Kent, in 1894 [5]) has often been referred to as a Mithraeum, largely on account of three niches cut in the back wall and the presence of a well in the floor, but there is little doubt that Jessup is correct in identifying the building as a storage cellar [6]). Another cellar, said by Lysons to be a temple, was found in the villa at Witcombe, Gloucestershire [7]), but although it contains a water supply its use as a Mithraeum is extremely unlikely [8]).

What may well rank as Britain's most famous "Mithraic temple" [9]), the underground grotto at Margate, discovered in 1834/5 and open to the public since 1838, is now generally recognised for what it is, a very good English shell grotto of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century [10]).

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[1]) *CIMRM*, I, 829.

[2]) Hull, *Roman Colchester*, pp. 107-13.

[3]) *E.g.* by Prof. Richmond (in Hull, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii-xxix) and Prof. Toynbee (quoted in *CIMRM*, II, p. 37 (829)), and *cf.* Macdonald, *Roman Britain 1914-1923*, pp. 79-81; Hull, *op. cit.*, p. 112, n. 6.

[4]) A small bronze head with Phrygian cap (below pp. 49, 102) which seems in fact to be an Attis.

[5]) *PSA Scot.*, XXIX (1894-5), p. 204; *PSA*, XV (1893-5), p. 184; XVI (1895-7), pp. 105-13, 248-9; *MMM*, II, 267 bis (p. 510); *CIMRM*, I-II, 808.

[6]) *Arch. Cantiana*, LXX (1956), pp. 168-71. For further discussion of cellars see *Celticum III* (suppl. à *Ogam*: *tradition celtique*, n°. 79-81 (1962)), pp. 429-53.

[7]) *Arch.*, XIX (1821), p. 180; *Ant. J*, XIX (1939), p. 194.

[8]) *Cf. Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, LXXIII (1954), pp. 16-18.

[9]) Modestly described as "a national asset of the utmost importance" and "*a relic of a former civilisation unsurpassed in this or any other country*" (Bridgewater, *The Grotto*, p. 15).

[10]) Jones, *Follies and Grottoes*, pp. 53-5. For a radiocarbon date confirming that the grotto is not ancient see *Radiocarbon*, V (1963), p. 19 (UCLA-113).

London (*LONDINIVM*)

The London Mithraeum [1] (Pl. I), discovered in 1953 on the east bank of the Roman Walbrook stream, immediately to the west of, and partly under, the present street of Walbrook, was undoubtedly the most elaborately furnished of the known British Mithraea and was also, apparently, the earliest. The date at which the original building was constructed cannot, indeed, be precisely determined, but from what is known of the changing conditions in the Walbrook valley during the first and second centuries A.D. [2] it seems reasonable to suppose that it cannot have been begun until sometime in the third quarter of the second century, while the date assigned to the head of Mithras [3], presumably intended for the temple from the first [4], suggests that it was already in existence by the end of that century [5].

The temple as excavated [6] was some 60 feet long and 25 feet wide, exclusive of the apse at the western end and a narthex to the east and partly underlying the modern street, complete clearance of this narthex and of other subsidiary rooms which may have existed at the eastern end being thus impossible. The walls of the building, chiefly of Kentish ragstone [1], with levelling or bonding courses of tile, stood to a height of between 3 and 4 feet, and it seems likely that the temple was in fact entirely constructed of stone, with a tiled roof, itself an indication of the Mithraists' wealth.

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[1] The full report of the excavation is in course of preparation. Notes recording the discovery are to be found in *ILN*, 9 Oct. 1954, p. 600; *JRS*, XLIV (1954), p. 99, "a simplified summary of what appears to have been the history of the building", together with some photographs, in *JRS*, XLV (1955), pp. 137-8, pls. XLII (2)-XLVIII, and a further short account, with illustrations, in *Rec. Arch. Exc.*, pp. 136-42, pls. XXVI-XXVIII. All are by the excavator, Prof. W. F. Grimes. *Cf.* also *CIMRM*, I, pp. 283-7; II, pp. 36-7.

[2] *Cf. Ant. J*, XLII (1962), pp. 38-52; *Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 138; *JRS*, XLIV (1954), p. 99; *Small Finds from Walbrook 1954-1955* (Guildhall Museum Publication). The latest coin known to be from the stream-bed is a *dupondius* of Aurelius (A.D. 153-4).

[3] *I.e.* "between about A.D. 180 and 200" (Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 142).

[4] Of the other major sculptures, only the relief of the bull-slaying, dated to the late second or third century (Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 153) was necessarily made for the temple. The remainder (Toynbee, *op. cit.*, nos. 20, 24, 29, 32, 38), some of which appear to date from earlier in the second century, may have been in private hands before coming into the possession of the Mithraists (but *cf.* below p. 12, n. 4).

[5] *Cf. Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 140.

[6] Pl. I. For other aerial views see *ILN*, 2 Oct. 1954, p. 543; *JRS*, XLV (1955), pl. XLIII (1). The "temple" now preserved *(sic)* in Temple Court, Queen Street, lies to the north-east of the original site, on the opposite bank of the Roman Walbrook stream and somewhat above the ***modern*** street level. Its walls are indeed constructed with the original stones, but neither in their

The shrine proper was entered from the narthex through double doors in the dividing wall, the stone threshold with the sockets and iron collars for the door pivots still surviving, as did the wooden planks and pegs [2] retaining the two earthen steps down to the original floor of the nave [3]. This floor, which seems to have been boarded, was almost 2½ feet lower than that of the narthex [4], but by the middle of the fourth century the level had risen until the steps were completely covered. The nave itself was 11 feet wide and flanked by stone sleeper walls bearing columns, seven on each side and about 6 feet apart, which supported the roof. At the time of the excavation only the plaster settings of the column bases and one fragmentary base [5] survived, the actual columns having been removed in antiquity [6]. On either side of the nave, behind the sleeper walls, were the benches, constructed of wood, with the joists surviving just below the top of the walls. At the western end of the left hand (south) bench was a timber-lined well rather more than 3 feet square and about 2 feet deep, which in time had gone out of use. In one of the post-holes connected with a structure built over it was found a circular marble plaque of third century date with a representation of the Danubian Rider-Gods [7].

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original positions nor in their original quantity.

[1] There is no local stone, and much of that used in the city wall and elsewhere was also brought from Kent.

[2] Much of the woodwork in the temple was in a remarkable state of preservation, owing to the perpetually moist condition of the ground, and, as well as pottery and several pieces of jet, various metal objects and two fragments of gilded leather (Guildhall Museum, nos. 18448-9) also survived.

[3] On this floor, not far from the steps, was found part of a pine cone (Guidhall Museum, no. 18501). *Cf.* below pp. 18, 19, n. 1.

[4] The narthex itself is presumed to have been at Roman street level.

[5] Guildhall Museum, no. 18500—of a coarse oolite.

[6] A drum from one of the columns was used to block a hole in the wall of the building on the south-west (*JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 138).

[7] Guildhall Museum, no. 18218: *ILN*, 2 Oct. 1954, p. 542; *CIMRM*,

The western end of the nave terminated in a semi-circular apse with its floor about 3 feet above that of the nave and originally reached by steps [1]). A slightly raised central portion at the front of the apse suggested some architectural feature at this point, but the exact purpose of four holes at the back remains uncertain [2]). The external treatment of the apse well illustrates the difficulties caused by the waterlogged and unstable nature of the site. It was strongly reinforced by two semi-circular buttresses, which "must have given an impression of a triple apse in their complete state", and also by a large square buttress on the crown, all these having in fact been added "while the building was being erected" [3]). Round the south-west corner of the apse and along the south wall at ground level was a wooden gully to drain off water.

In the course of time the interior of the building underwent a succession of changes which "broadly speaking . . . consisted of the gradual raising of the floor level of the nave, partly no doubt, under the influence of the perpetually wet character of the site. The nave appears in fact to have had seven or eight distinct structural floors and during the period of use of most of these the distinction between nave and aisles [4]) was maintained though much reduced, the sleeper walls being raised at one stage by the building of short lengths of wall apparently between the pillars. These changes had the effect of gradually covering in the steps at each end of the nave . . . . By the time of the burial of the most important marbles . . . even the raised sleeper-walls had been concealed; the general floor level was only slightly below that of the western apse; and the threefold division of nave and side aisles was maintained by long-

I, 819. When complete this showed the two Rider-Gods and a goddess standing behind a small table bearing a fish, and below them in the exergue a dog, a (?) crater and a doubtful creature, possibly a bird or a scorpion. With the exception of one or two isolated examples, the parallels for this all come from the Danube area (*cf. Dacia*, V (1961), pp. 317-43, with reference to previous discussions, and mention of the present piece on p. 324, n. 29, and see *CMRED*, *s.v.* Britannia).

[1]) These steps, like those at the eastern end, were eventually covered by the rise in the floor level.

[2]) The holes may have been connected with the lighting of the apse, or with the construction or fixing of the bull-slaying scene.

[3]) *Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 140.

[4]) *I.e.* benches.

itudinal beams which supported only slightly raised floors on each side of the central area. By this time, too, the building had been drastically altered in other ways: the pillars had been removed and were replaced presumably by timber supports for the roof . . ." [1]).

Unlike the three excavated Mithraea on Hadrian's Wall, the Walbrook temple produced no inscribed altars [2]), nor were any of the important sculptures definitely to be associated with the Mithraeum found in their original positions [3]). The principal marbles found in 1954 were deliberately concealed in two separate caches near the eastern entrance of the shrine, below the penultimate floor, and a third group, known since the late nineteenth century and now in the London Museum [4]), was evidently taken from approximately the same area [5]).

The circumstances of this earlier discovery are of some interest, the pieces having been sold in the latter part of 1889 to a Mr W.

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[1]) *JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 138, but *cf. Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 140.

[2]) Only four altars were found during the excavations and all were uninscribed. One was found "outside the temple to the south", another "on one of the later floors on the north side overlying the central position of the aisle", a third, improvised from a small column base, "remained *in situ* on the south side of the nave, also on one of the late floors", and the fourth "must have been one of a pair which stood symmetrically in front of the apse on one of the intermediate floors" (*Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 140, n. 1).

[3]) The most important pieces have been treated at length by Prof. Toynbee (*Art in R.B.*) and only brief descriptions are therefore given here.

[4]) London Museum, nos. A 16931-3: *Arch.*, LX (1906), pp. 43-8, pls. VIII-X; *JRS*, I (1911), p. 163, pls. XXII-XXIV (1); II (1912), pp. 142-4, 152, pls. VIII, IX, fig. 14; VCH, *London*, I, pp. 131-2, pl. opp. p. 132; RCHM, *Roman London*, pp. 43, 46, 170, pl. 10; *London in Roman Times*, pp. 45-6, pls. XV, XVI (A), XVII (A); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 137-8 (29), 139-40 (32), 153-4 (69), pls. 25, 35, 73.

[5]) In 1887, two years before the discovery of these sculptures, there was found in Walbrook ("within the bed of the Walbrook, and on its eastern boundary"), together with Roman pottery and other remains, a female head in marble, the hair parted in the centre and carried back over the temples, leaving the ears exposed. Submitted to the British Museum by the Rev. S. Mayhew, it was pronounced to be "Romano-British art-work of the third century of our era" (*cf. JBAA*, XLIII (1887), pp. 103, 107; XLIV (1888), pp. 198, 235-40; VCH, *London*, I, pp. 132-3). The head, or "bust", was sold at Sotheby's in 1898 (*Sotheby Sale Cat.*, 8 Dec. 1898, p. 6, lot. 44) and its present whereabouts we have been unable to discover. Since the exact provenance of the piece is not known it is impossible to say whether it was in any way connected with the Mithraeum.

Ransom of Hitchin by a London dealer, James Smith, who claimed that they had been found near the middle of Walbrook at a depth of some 20 feet. At the time and for many years afterwards this claim was doubted, if never wholly rejected [1]), since it seemed inconceivable that such sculptures could have come from provincial London and it was suspected that the dealer had simply invented the story to get a better price for imported Italian objects. In 1889, however, extensive and deep sewerage works were in fact carried out in Walbrook near Bond Court, and it was, moreover, in that same year that the office buildings, which stood on the temple site until their destruction in World War II, were built, one of the foundation piers lying close to, and almost over, the two caches discovered in the excavations of 1954. In retrospect there can indeed be little doubt that the nineteenth century workmen had actually stumbled across one group of the hidden sculptures and, as still happens, had preferred quietly to sell the pieces to a dealer rather than take them to a museum which they doubted would repay them for their honesty [2]).

One of the three sculptures thus recovered, the only inscribed object to have survived intact from the Mithraeum, was the relatively small rectangular slab [3]) (Pl. II) bearing in the centre a relief of Mithras the Bull-Slayer attended by the dadophori, enclosed within a circular frame containing the signs of the zodiac. In the top left hand corner of the slab Sol drives his chariot upwards and in the right Luna plunges hers down into night, while the bottom corners are similarly filled by the busts of two Wind-Gods. The inscription is disposed around the central scene as space permits, on the left *VLPIVS SILVANVS*, on the right *EMERITVS LEG(ionis) II AVG(ustae) VOTVM SOLVIT*, below, to the left

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[1]) *Cf. CR*, V (1891), pp. 240-1.

[2]) Shortly after the discovery of the temple a retired man came to the Guildhall Museum, explaining somewhat apologetically that it was his wife who had suggested the visit thinking that his story might be of interest, as indeed it was. As a youth he had gone to work in the former office buildings and had been told by one in charge that he should work hard and remember that he was privileged to be on an old temple site—a fact then unknown to scholarship but already a piece of workman's folklore.

[3]) *EE*, VII, 816; *MMM*, II, 267a, Inscr. 471; *CIMRM*, I, 810-11; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 153-4 (69), pl. 73—and *cf.* above p. 6, n. 4.

FACTVS, and to the right *ARAVSIONE*. The relief, although apparently executed in Italian marble, is clearly of provincial workmanship, the scheme of the composition, most closely paralleled on certain monuments from the Danube area [1]), suggesting that the sculptor may perhaps have been a Danubian working in Britain [2]). The dedicator, Ulpius Silvanus, is the only person connected with the Mithraeum whose name has survived, but beyond the fact that he was a veteran of the Second Legion nothing is known of him [3]).

The other two marbles purchased by Ransom were a fine but headless statue [4]), originally described as a Bonus Eventus but now accepted as a Genius, and the magnificent head and torso of a reclining River-God, with part of a water plant at his right shoulder [5]) (Pl. III). Alone among the major sculptures the latter may perhaps have been executed in a single piece, though it seems more probable that in this case also the drapery and the lower half of the figure were originally separate [6]), and that the only actual damage is the loss of the right arm [7]). Both the figures fit easily into the context of the London Mithraeum, and both can be adequately matched elsewhere [1]).

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[1]) *Cf.* Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 153-4, and in particular *CIMRM*, II, 1472.

[2]) Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 154, and *cf.* above p. 4, n. 7.

[3]) *Factus Arausione* has been taken to mean either that Silvanus was discharged at Arausio or that he was initiated there—that it refers to the execution of the relief need not seriously be considered. However attractive the latter interpretation may seem in this context, it must be noted that there is no parallel for the use of *factus* with reference to Mithraic initiation (though *cf. CIMRM*, II, 1027: *mater nata et facta*). A *sacerdos* is once said to be *creatus*, though this may indicate a special concession (*CIMRM*, II, 2008), and in the lines of verse in the S. Prisca Mithraeum *renatum* and *creatum* occur in a context suggestive of initiation (Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XXI; Vermaseren in *Religions de Salut*, pp. 69-70). Arausio is usually assumed to be Orange, originally founded as a *colonia* for the Second Legion, but *cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, II, col. 402, *s.v.* Arauzona (the modern Sebenik, some 30 miles north of Split).

[4]) *MMM*, II, 267c; *CIMRM*, I, 812; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 139-40 (32), pl. 25—and *cf.* above p. 6, n. 4.

[5]) *MMM*, II, 267b; *CIMRM*, I, 813; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 137-8 (29), pl. 35—and *cf.* above p. 6, n. 4.

[6]) *Cf.* below p. 12, nn. 1-4.

[7]) A figure draped like that from Merida (*CIMRM*, I, 778) or Chesters (Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 138 (30), pl. 36) would have had no left arm or shoulder. The diagonal cut across the torso is evidently of more recent date.

The first of the important pieces to come to light in 1954 were the two heads of Mithras and Minerva, found in a hole immediately over the north sleeper wall towards its eastern end. The careful concealment of the various marbles in antiquity was the principal reason for their excellent state of preservation, and the head of Mithras [2]) was in fact the only one which showed definite signs of surface deterioration, as distinct from the slight iron staining etc. which affected some of the others. Examination in the British Museum laboratory [3]) suggested that this was due to intense heat, and, since there was no evidence that the temple had at any time been destroyed by fire, it may be assumed that the damage to the head was the result of heat from altar fires burning just below it [4]). The angle and expression of the face, turned away to the left and with eyes upcast, indicate that it was part of a group of Mithras the Bull-Slayer and, as such, its original position was presumably in the apse. No other part of this group, which may well have been in stucco [5]), has survived, but a small sleeved arm of oolite from another, free-standing, group was found outside the temple [6]), and the colossal hand from the second cache may also have come from a similar representation [7]).

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[1]) Genii occur at Dieburg (*CIMRM*, II, 1253, 1255) and Stockstadt (*CIMRM*, II, 1195) and Water Deities at S. Prisca (*CIMRM*, I, 478) and Merida (*CIMRM*, I, 778).

[2]) Guildhall Museum, no. 20005: *CIMRM*, I, 815; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 141-2 (36), pl. 42.

[3]) Plenderleith, *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art*, pp. 312-13, pl. 52.

[4]) Plenderleith, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

[5]) *Cf.* below p. 12, nn. 3-4. A hole in the base of the neck suggests that the head may have been supported on a metal bar running through the stucco (Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 141). For a similar strengthening of the figure of Oceanus at S. Prisca see Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XIII.

[6]) Guidhall Museum, no. 18497: *CIMRM*, II, 814-26 (5); *JRS*, XLV (1955), pl. XLVIII (2). The piece is of late second century date.

[7]) Guildhall Museum, no. 18492: *CIMRM*, I, 818; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 142-3 (37), pl. 40. Two and a half times life size, the hand grasps a dagger handle dowelled to receive a blade, presumably of metal; a long iron dowel set in lead projects from the wrist, but whether this fitted into the arm of a correspondingly large figure of the god or the hand was merely a

The head of Minerva 1) is essentially Hellenistic in style. The crown of the head is lacking and it is clear from the presence of two dowel holes and the plain band running across the brow and behind each ear that a metal helmet completed the piece. Elsewhere Minerva appears in Mithraea together with the other Olympians, but only in three instances 2) is she found on her own and even then by no means so impressively represented as here 3).

The second group of sculptures was carefully hidden in the nave, just south of the first, and included one major piece, the beautiful and stately head of Serapis 4) (Frontispiece), which was almost perfect 5) and retained its original polish and fine surface. Intended, like the Minerva head, to be seen from the front, the Serapis is slightly flattened and reworked at the back, evidently to accommodate it to a shallow recess 6). On his head the god bears a *modius*, adorned with three olive trees in relief, and with a small round hole in the top, probably to receive a bunch of corn ears in metal. Similarly majestic heads of Serapis have also been found in

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symbolic piece complete in itself is an open question. If the hand did belong to a figure of the Bull-Slayer, the complete group must have been of enormous size and could not conceivably have been accommodated in the Walbrook Mithraeum. For another large hand, apparently somewhat similar, found in Chancery Lane, London, about 1845, *cf. PSA*, I (1843-9), p. 76.

1) Guildhall Museum, no. 18491: *CIMRM*, I, 820; *AJA*, LX (1956), p. 334; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 134-5 (24), pl. 28.

2) *CIMRM*, I, 441; II, 1086, 1318—though none is a close parallel.

3) The head seems unlikely to have been incorporated in the bull-slaying scene, and the form in which Minerva was represented must remain a matter of conjecture.

4) Guildhall Museum, no. 18494: *CIMRM*, I, 818; *ILN*, 16 Oct. 1954, p. 637; *AJA*, LX (1956), p. 334; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 143-5 (38), pl. 43.

5) The only damage, that to the forelocks, occurred in antiquity.

6) The head of Serapis from S. Prisca had evidently not been placed in the upper border of the niche as was at first thought, but may have been attached within the niche itself, as on a relief from Dura-Europos (*CIMRM*, I, 40), thus forming part of the bull-slaying scene (*cf.* Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XIII). In view of the obvious importance of the Walbrook head (*cf.* below p. 11, n. 3) it seems probable that it occupied a similar position, set, presumably, into a draped bust (cf. below p. 12, nn. 1-4). For a stucco bust of Serapis with the face inserted in marble see Edgar, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 70 (27605), pl. XXXII, and *cf.* also Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell' Egitto greco-romano*, II, pp. 49 (180), 47 (174) and pp. 43 (155), 47-8 (175); *Journ. American Research Center in Egypt*, II (1963), pp. 126-7, nn. 15-18.

the Mithraeum of S. Prisca [1]) and at Merida [2]), and it is possible that in each case the god is to be more precisely identified as Serapis-Saturnus or Serapis-Caelus and thus in effect as Ohrmazd [3]).

Together with the Serapis and the colossal hand already mentioned was a small statuette of Mercury [4]). Seated on a rock, beside which lies a ram, the god leans lightly on his left hand in which he carries his purse, and rests his left foot on a rocky projection from beneath which a tortoise peers out. The piece was broken in antiquity and somewhat clumsily repaired with mortar, except at the left knee, where an unsuccessful attempt at rivetting has resulted in the loss of the knee-cap and the fingers of the right hand in which a caduceus, probably of metal, was originally held. The remaining damage [5]) is due to the pressure of the earth on this fragile piece. Mercury, messenger of the gods, was associated with the lowest Mithraic grade of *Corax*, and his presence in Mithraea has ample parallels, notably in the Rhineland [6]).

Completing the second cache [7]) was a small but solid laver of oolite [8]). Rough in finish and seemingly unimportant by comparison with the sculptures, it had nevertheless been of sufficient ritual significance to merit equal care in its disposal [9]).

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[1]) *CIMRM*, I, 479; Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XIII.

[2]) *CIMRM*, I, 783.

[3]) *Cf. Numen*, II (1955), p. 195, where it is suggested that Ohrmazd, whose reign Mithras inaugurates (and whose connection with Infinite Time is parallel to that of Ahriman with Finite Time) was in fact the supreme deity of Roman Mithraism. *Cf.* also Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, p. 130, and below p. 34, n. 6, p. 43, n. 6.

[4]) Guildhall Museum, no. 18493: *CIMRM*, I, 821; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 132-3 (20), pl. 31.

[5]) When found, the neck was broken and a piece had flaked off one shoulder; both are now repaired. The wings in the hair are broken off.

[6]) *Cf.* Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 133, and in particular the statue from Stockstadt inscribed *D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) Mercuri[o]* (*CIMRM*, II, 1210-11). The most impressive Mercury is that from Merida, dedicated *Invicto Deo Mithrae* by a *Pater* (*CIMRM*, I, 780-1).

[7]) *Cf. Sculptures from the Temple of Mithras* (Guildhall Museum Publication), fig. on cover.

[8]) Guildhall Museum, no. 18502: *ILN*, 16 Oct. 1954, p. 636.

[9]) Compare the laver found *in situ* at Rudchester (below p. 27 and n. 5). The concealment of the laver may perhaps suggest that the sculptures were hidden for religious reasons. A large shallow laver and the boss of another were also found on the site (Guildhall Museum, nos. 18503-4).

One notable feature of the London sculptures is the fact that the heads of Mithras, Serapis and Minerva, as well, perhaps, as the bust of the River-God, were clearly made for insertion into separate bodies [1]) either of stone or, more probably, of stucco [2]), the latter material having been employed extensively in the Mithraeum of S. Prisca [3]). When the sculptures, representing expensive imports, were so carefully hidden with a view to their recovery in better times and the more portable metal attachments (helmet, corn ears, caduceus) perhaps removed, the bodies, of less value and relatively easy to replace, were presumably not considered worthy of preservation—if indeed this was practicable [4]). Pending the detailed publication of the excavation, the period at which the sculptures were buried must remain a matter of conjecture, but since the building continued in use and two further floors were laid, the second not earlier than the middle of the reign of Constantine, a date about the turn of the third and fourth centuries seems probable [5]).

That the building was in fact in use as a Mithraeum at the beginning of the fourth century is indicated by a fragment of a marble panel [6]) (Pl. IV) found used as part of the make-up for one of the later floors at the eastern end of the temple [1]. Originally an architectural moulding, the panel had been subsequently adapted as a dedicatory slab with a flange cut along the three surviving edges, as if to fit a frame. On what had been the reverse was carved an inscription dated in the reign of four Augusti [2], but the panel is now broken a short distance from its right hand end [3], and a restoration of the text from the little that remains is difficult [4]. The dedication may, however, have been made for the welfare of the four Augusti mentioned [5], and will have been to Mithras [6], the closing words being in all probability *ab oriente ad occidentem* [7], a phrase which occurs at S. Prisca [8] and which recalls dedications to Mithras, *deo orienti* [9] and the symbolism of Cautes and Cautopates as Mithras in his aspects of the rising and setting sun[10]. The arrangement of the inscription may then have been as follows:

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[1]) *Cf.* Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 134-5, 137-8, 141-2, 143-5.

[2]) No stucco was in fact observed adhering to the Walbrook sculptures, and the possibility that the bodies may have been of wood cannot entirely be disregarded.

[3]) The entire decoration of the cult niche, including the group of Mithras the Bull-Slayer, the reclining Oceanus, and the head of Serapis, was in stucco (*cf.* Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XIII).

[4]) It is possible that the bodies were in effect mere elements in a single stucco composition as at S. Prisca, and if so they could hardly have been removed. Such a unified composition would, however, imply that the marble elements were intended for it from the first, thus suggesting that the River-God (if not the Minerva) is, like the heads of Serapis and Mithras, of late second century date (*cf.* Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 138, 135).

[5]) The troubles under Allectus (A.D. 293-6) and the threat to London's peace at this time might provide a reason for the hiding of the sculptures, though it seems more likely that they were in fact concealed through fear of Christian iconoclasts (*cf.* *Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 141). In this case the earliest possible occasion would seem to be during the period (A.D. 296-306) when Constantius Chlorus, "the restorer of the eternal light" and a Christian sympathiser, was intermittently in Britain, though a date sometime after A.D. 312 and perhaps nearer to A.D. 320 would be more natural.

[6]) Guildhall Museum, no. 18499: *ILN*, 16 Oct. 1954, p. 636. The fragment is 12½ inches long, 9¾ inches wide and ¾ inch thick.

[PRO SALVTE DDDD NNNN AV]G G G G
[nomen cognomen]
[DEO SOLI MITHRAE I]NVICTO
[AB] AD
[ORIENTE OCCID]ENTEM

Neither the name nor the rank of the dedicator has survived, but such a tablet is unlikely to have been set up by anyone belonging to one of the lower Mithraic grades [11].

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[1] *Cf. JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 145.

[2] Presumably Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius (May A.D. 305—July A.D. 306).

[3] The break is almost vertical, running along the right hand hasta of the V of AV]GGGG, through the I of I]NVICTO and down the vertical hasta of the E of OCCID]ENTEM, the extant portion representing perhaps a quarter of the whole.

[4] For a reconstruction by Wright see *JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 145.

[5] We are grateful to Prof. I. A. Richmond for this suggestion.

[6] The common formula *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae* is here impossible, and that suggested by Wright is without parallel. For the form *Deo Soli Mithrae Invicto* compare *CIMRM*, I, 474, 698.

[7] First suggested by Prof. Toynbee in a letter to the Guildhall Museum shortly after the discovery of the inscription.

[8] *CIMRM*, I, 480; Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, chs. XVII, XX.

[9] *CIMRM*, II, 1469, 2213.

[10] *Cf.* Vermaseren ,*Mithras*, pp. 57-8 (pp. 72-3); Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, chs. XX, XXI.

[11] At S. Prisca the phrase is connected with the *Patres* (*cf.* above n. 8).

The latest floor of the building covered the whole of the interior, eliminating both the nave-bench division and the difference in level between the apse and the body of the building. Into a hole in this floor was set, upside down, a roughly shaped rectangular block of sandstone [1] to form an altar base. This feature, representing "the last structural activity in the building" is dated to "about or after the middle of the reign of Constantine the Great" by one of his coins from the London Mint found under the base [2]. The placing of an altar in the building during this final stage of its history will indicate that it still served as a temple, but whether as a Mithraeum is not clear [3], for neither of the two cult objects which are possibly to be connected with this phase is specifically Mithraic.

On top of the north wall of the temple as it survived [4], and evidently deliberately concealed, were four crushed fragments of a silver bowl [5], and a small cylindrical silver casket [6] with hinged lid and containing a silver strainer [7]. The wall and lid of the casket are covered with figure ornament cast in relief, with some traces of gilding, and "on the base a graffito reads ỊSIΛVI, presumably a personal name in the genitive" [8].

The last of the important pieces of sculpture to come from the temple was a marble group of Bacchus [9], perhaps of Balkan origin, found in debris in the north-east corner of the building. The god is supported by a young naked Satyr and attended by his panther, a Maenad clasping a *cista mystica,* Silenus riding on an ass, and Pan seated in the branches of a tree. An inscription on the base reads *HOMINIBVSBAGISBITAM,* i.e. *hominibus vagis vitam,* "(Give) life to wandering mortals" [1]). Although the piece was actually discovered by builder's workmen [2]), it is known to have been found "above the level of the temple's latest (fourth century) floor" [3]). The sculpture itself seems, however, unlikely to have been executed "much later than *c.* A.D. 250" [4]), and this poses the problem of whether it somehow survived the crisis which caused the other marbles to be hidden, or whether it was subsequently acquired from elsewhere.

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[1] Guildhall Museum, no. 20009. The block is roughly inscribed]BENT[(*JRS*, XLVI (1956), p. 146).

[2] *Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 141, and *cf. JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 138.

[3] *Cf. Rec. Arch. Exc.*, p. 141.

[4] At a late stage in the excavations the building contractors removed a nineteenth century foundation from over the north wall of the temple. In cleaning the exposed wall for purposes of photography the archaeological staff recovered the objects from the material which came away.

[5] Guildhall Museum, no. 21552.

[6] Guildhall Museum, no. 21579: *CIMRM*, II, 814-26 (4); *ILN*, 26 May 1956, p. 605; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 173-4 (110), pls. 111-12. For a detailed discussion of the representations on the casket see Toynbee, *A Silver Casket and Strainer from the Walbrook Mithraeum in the City of London* (*Et. Pré.*, IV).

[7] The strainer does not seem to have been made for the casket originally. We are grateful to R. Merrifield Esq. for pointing out that the trifurcate "handle" of the strainer is parallelled in Roman measures, in which it serves to indicate the level at which the measure is full.

[8] *JRS*, LI (1961), p. 195.

[9] Guildhall Museum, no. 18496: *CIMRM*, I, 822-3; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 128-30 (12), pl. 34.

Also found within the actual building, but in the narthex, was the fragmentary marble torso of a male figure, slightly flattened at the back and retaining much of its original polish [5]), while a similarly broken torso, its surface weathered, came from a trench outside [6]). Both are entirely naked, without any distinguishing features, and identification is correspondingly difficult. Apart from the representations of Mithras born from the rock [7]), and some figures of Ahriman [8]), nudity is rare in Mithraic iconography [9]), but a pair of figures suggests Cautes and Cautopates, and in that there are occasional parallels for naked dadophori [1], such an interpretation seems plausible. An undoubted fragment of a dadophorus, the lower part of an oolite relief of Cautopates [2], was found just outside the south wall of the temple and towards its eastern end. Only the lower portion of the figure, below the waist, survived, and no recognisable fragment of the remainder, or of a companion relief of Cautes was discovered.

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[1]) *JRS,* XLV (1955), p. 145. For some comments on the Bacchic interpretation of this phrase and its compatibility with Mithraism see Toynbee, *Art in R.B.,* p. 130.

[2]) The piece, which had been virtually intact, was unfortunately broken at the time of its discovery, and despite a careful search some fragments, including Bacchus' left forearm and the upper part of the figure of Pan, were never recovered.

[3]) Toynbee, *Art in R.B.,* p. 130, and *cf. Rec. Arch. Exc.,* p. 141.

[4]) Toynbee, *Art in R.B.,* p. 130, but *cf. JRS,* LIII (1963), p. 239.

[5]) Guildhall Museum, no. 18495: *CIMRM,* I, 817; *ILN,* 2 Oct. 1954, p. 542.

[6]) Guildhall Museum, no. 18015.

[7]) Such an identification cannot entirely be discounted, since the greater part of Mithras' body is sometimes clear of the rock (*cf. CIMRM,* I, 344; II, 1669, 2134, 2188) and there are parallels for the presence of more than one rockbirth in the same Mithraeum (*cf. CIMRM,* II, 1340/43/45/46, 1489/92, 1668/69).

[8]) *Cf.* in particular *CIMRM,* I, 79, 777, though the latter may in fact be Mithras (*cf.* below p. 34, n. 2). A torso of Ahriman would, however, preserve some trace of the encircling snake or, where the snake is absent, of drapery.

[9]) Sol, though often naked save for a cloak, is only rarely represented in

Of other objects which came to light outside the building, one, found some sixty feet to the south and on the east bank of the Walbrook stream, seems likely to have belonged to the Mithraeum [3]. Dating from the late second or third century, this piece, the broken corner of a relief with one of the Dioscuri [4], is also executed in native oolite and is of provincial workmanship. A fragment of an inscribed slate panel [5], found in debris above the south bench of the temple is, however, quite unconnected [6], and a small sherd [7] suggestive of the cult of Sabazios [8], though not perhaps inappropriate to a Mithraic context [9], may likewise be dismissed [10].

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the round (but *cf.* Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 13 (7264) = *CIMRM*, I, 98).

[1] *Cf. CIMRM*, I, 951 (a pair) and in particular a statue from Merida (*CIMRM*, I, 775).

[2] Guildhall Museum, no. 20006: *JRS*, XLV (1955), pl. XLVIII.

[3] Although such an impressive representation of a Dioscurus is without parallel in a Mithraic context (*cf.*, however, *CIMRM*, I, 902) and is more suggestive of Dolichene iconography (*cf.* below p. 62, n. 5) there was no evidence for the existence of any other shrine in the immediate vicinity of the Mithraeum.

[4] Guildhall Museum, no. 20736: *CIMRM*, I, 816; *JRS*, XLVIII (1958), p. 144, pl. XXI (2); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 151 (61), pl. 69.

[5] Guildhall Museum, no. 18219: *CIMRM*, I, 826.

[6] *Cf. JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 145.

[7] Guildhall Museum, no. 18156. The sherd is from the body of a vessel of thickish grey ware with a black slip on the outside, and is decorated with a small *appliqué* frog.

[8] *Cf.* Staehelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, 3rd ed., pp. 551-3, figs. 160-4; Simonett, *Führer durch das Vindonissa-Museum in Brugg*, 1947, p. 125, pl. 41a; Vindonissa Museum, nos. 2121, 3002, 9852, 9854, 28.2256, 34.5691. A fragment of the handle of a similar vessel of unslipped buff ware was found at Cirencester (*CORINIVM DOBVNNORVM*), and another fragment was discovered during the excavation of the Lullingstone villa.

[9] *Cf. Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, XXX (1937), pp. 1 f.

[10] The sherd was found in a trench cut to the west of the temple building

Unlike the Mithraea on Hadrian's Wall, the London temple does not appear to have been dependent upon the interest of particular individuals, for throughout the greater part of its history it was apparently much frequented, and only in the later stages does its condition seem to have deteriorated. Of the status and calling of the London Mithraists scarcely anything is known [1]), but, whether merchants, militia, or civil government officials, it is clear that they were men of wealth and taste willing to adorn their shrine with expensive Italian art objects as well as provincial and even local products.

Carrawburgh (*BROCOLITIA*)

The Mithraeum at Carrawburgh [2]) (Folding Plan at end of book), which lies in swampy ground about 30 yards south of the south-west angle of the fort and on the east bank of a small marshy valley, was first recognised during a severe drought in 1949 and excavated the following year. Although gradually engulfed over the centuries, the temple originally stood free and "was not dug into the hillside as if to simulate a cave, but lay along the contour without any attempt at half-underground concealment" [3]).

The earliest building, apparently constructed early in the third century, was one of the smallest Mithraea known. Well built of "clay-bound rubble, faced with hammer-dressed freestone blocks", it was only 26 feet long by 18 feet 3 inches wide overall [4]), the temple proper measuring 17½ feet by 15 feet internally, with a

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and on the other side of the Walbrook stream, and was associated with pottery of *c.* A.D. 100 (*cf. CIMRM*, II, 1391).

[1]) The veteran Ulpius Silvanus may well have used his gratuity to set himself up in business.

[2]) *AA*, XXIX (1951), pp. 1-92 (also available as an offprint: Richmond and Gillam, *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh*). For a short summary by one of the excavators see *Rec. Arch. Exc.*, pp. 65-85, and *cf.* also *CIMRM*, I, pp. 292-6; II, p. 41.

[3]) The orientation of the temple (321°) appears to be "related solely to the natural contour of the hillside", and the somewhat similar orientations of Rudchester (307°5′) and Housesteads (260°) are probably coincidental. Here, as in the original reports, Carrawburgh is described as though lying north-south and the other two as if aligned on an east-west axis.

[4]) The north and south walls were 2 feet thick and the side walls 1 foot 7 inches thick.

narthex 4 feet 2 inches deep and of corresponding width divided from it by a wooden screen at the southern end. The doorway in the south wall was 1 foot 9 inches east of centre, and the gravelled nave of the temple, some 50 inches wide, was similarly eccentric; of the benches, presumably earth revetted with wattle-work or boarding, nothing survived. At the north end, a 2 foot strip was marked off by timber posts, with, in the centre, a low stone platform, at one side of which was placed a cone of *Pinus Pinea*, L. In front of this platform, in the nave, was a small hearth, and near to it what was evidently a bunker containing hazel charcoal and carbonised pine-cone fuel.

Within a very short time the temple was enlarged by extending the body of the building northwards some 14 feet and adding an apse at the northern end. The work was less careful than that of the original structure, and the extension, built anti-clockwise, was made too wide at the north end so that the west wall had to be adjusted to make the new work meet the old. The enlarged Mithraeum measured 36 feet by 15 feet internally, exclusive of the apse, which was 5 feet 6 inches deep, but the narthex, again separated by a wooden screen, now accounted for 7 feet 3 inches of the total length. The latter was floored with gravel, perhaps originally cemented with mortar, and had a stone bench across its western end, with a large hearth adjacent to it against the south wall. The nave of the temple, widened to 6 feet and centrally placed between the benches, was similarly floored, its extension resting on a kerbed foundation raft of stone, except at the north end where the raft was restricted to the west half "as if access to the sanctuary had been at one side only". The flanking benches were revetted with timber-work and probably faced with plaster, and were reached by steps at their southern ends, beside the narthex screen. Also at the south, and in front of the benches, stood two stone pedestals, plastered on three sides but rough at the back, which presumably carried statues of the dadophori, while at the northern end of the east bench was a stone slab "plainly intended to hold a piece of ritual furniture".

During the next seventy-five years this enlarged temple was twice reconditioned without, however, any alteration to the external walls or any drastic change of plan. It is certainly conceivable that every twenty-five or thirty years a building of this kind required some renovation, but, as the excavators remark, the thoroughness of the reconditioning would suggest that the alterations reflect the interest of individual commanding officers, perhaps following periods in which the temple was deserted or little used.

In the first of these renovations the depth of the narthex was reduced to 6½ feet, thus providing more room at the southern ends of the benches, at the corners of which were very large posts "as if the nave, and perhaps the ends of the benches themselves, had been curtained off at this point". The floor of the nave was flagged for a distance of 10 feet from the screen, and cobbled for the rest, the whole being covered with a thick layer of heather or ling which continued right into the apse [1]). Flanking the nave were a number of other large posts, irregularly spaced, probably to support the roof, and to which the line of the wattle revetting of the benches was apparently accommodated. The screen to the narthex was provided with a door in place of the earlier curtain and the narthex itself was paved with flagging, except perhaps in the north-east corner, the floor being level with the bench of the previous phase and with the original threshold of the main doorway. As before there was a large hearth against the south wall, and close to it an oblong stone-lined pit "which supplied the reason for the rise in floor level". Experiment showed that this coffin-like structure would exactly contain a man, and the excavators suggest that it may have served as an ordeal pit [2]). Two finds connected with this phase of the Mithraeum are of particular interest, one an iron fire-shovel [3]) found at the southern end of the west bench and containing a residuum of pine-cone charcoal fuel, the other an iron thatch-hook from debris on the heather floor.

In the second refurbishing, the narthex, now 6 feet 3 inches deep and with a hearth sited as before, was floored with clay and the "ordeal pit" abandoned, a narrow bench being built against the wattle screen on the north side of the doorway to the nave. The nave was also floored with clay, but was "covered throughout with quarter-inch oak boarding in planks from 3 to 4 inches wide", the longest surviving plank being 4 feet in length. The benches, ill-defined at their southern ends, were revetted with wattle-work woven between small stakes, of which considerable traces remained along the fronts and at the north ends, the north corners being "laid off each in a sweeping curve". The roof posts of this phase, apparently cherry-tree trunks or branches left in their natural state, had been driven through the wattling, and it is clear that the roofing arrangements of the building were modified, perhaps by the introduction of a low clerestory. Beyond the benches and within the sanctuary were traces of timber stands or tables and fragments of amphorae, and a fine stone laver was found broken in the narthex.

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[1]) Within the apse on each side was a cone of *Pinus Pinea*, L.

[2]) A similar feature was disovered in one of the rooms of the S. Prisca Mithraeum (Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XVI.)

[3]) For the symbolism of the fire-shovel and its connection with the grade of *Leo cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, p. 119 (p. 146); Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, II, I Mitrei*, pp. 109-10, fig. 22, pl. XXV (4); Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XVII.

The second Mithraeum came to a violent end when the Wall forts were overwhelmed by the barbarian invasions in A.D. 296-7, and this destruction was followed by "a total reconstruction of the building at an altogether new and higher level, above which the main walls were completely rebuilt". The internal dimensions of the building remained the same, but the apse was reduced to a mere niche 1 foot 6 inches deep and the narthex was larger than before with a depth of 8 feet 2 inches. The floor of the narthex was clay, with random paving "where traffic was heavy", and the hearth to the left of the door was reduced in size and slightly raised on a platform of stones and clay. The screen to the temple proper, supported by "very substantial" posts, was probably a boarded partition, and close to it in the north-east corner stood a small pedestal at the foot of which lay a statue of a seated Mother-Goddess [1]), heavily eroded and clearly brought into the Mithraeum after previous use elsewhere and in the open.

The floor-level of the nave, "paved with random flagging in well-marked patches", was such that only the capitals of the original pedestals for the dadophori projected above the floor, close to the screen and well clear of the ends of the benches which now began

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[1]) *CIMRM*, I, 850. A Mother Goddess was also found in the Dieburg Mithraeum (*CIMRM*, II, 1262).

6 feet away from it. Statues of the dadophori [1] without separate bases were therefore placed at the corners of the benches, their rough backs and clear signs of previous damage and repair [2] suggesting that they had already stood elsewhere in the temple, and against a wall. The benches, reached by stone steps at their southern ends, were much shorter than in the three previous phases, ending square some 6 feet from the north wall and thus approximating in length to those of the earliest temple. They were revetted with wattling and aligned with two rows of oak roof posts continuing south into the narthex [3]. Along the fronts of the benches were ranged four small altars, two on each side, originally incorporated in the outer facing of clay and plaster. One at least had seen previous use elsewhere and stood with its dedication to the Matres hidden from view [4]. Across the west bench was found tumbled the lower half of a rough pedestal, and close to the two northernmost altars were traces of a pair of posts which "may be regarded as the uprights for a framework holding a sanctuary-veil or curtain". Beyond the north ends of the benches had been two stone pedestals, that on the west at least 3½ feet long, but of the objects which had stood on them there was no trace [5].

The three principal inscribed altars, dedicated by prefects of the first cohort of Batavians and dating from different periods of the temple's history [6], stood in a line across the front of the niche and on a rubble foundation packed in a pit containing a ritual deposit. The earliest, that of A. Cluentius Habitus [7], belongs to the period

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 849.

[2] The head of Cautes had been broken off and replaced with dowels.

[3] Two posts in stone lined post-holes, sited on the axis of the nave between the benches, may have supported small stands or offering tables.

[4] *JRS*, XLI (1951), pp. 140-1 (4); *AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 33, n. 38. For similarly extraneous altars at Housesteads see below p. 35.

[5] The excavators suggest that the pedestals held lions (*AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 39), but it is not clear why lions should have been removed in the desecration of the temple.

[6] The inscriptions have been fully discussed by Birley (*AA*, XXIX (1951), pp. 45-51).

[7] *JRS*, XL (1950), pp. 114-15 (2); *CIMRM*, I, 846: D(EO) IN(VICTO) M(ITHRAE) S(ACRVM) | AVL. CLVENTIVS | HABITVS PRA(E)-F(ECTVS) | COH(ORTIS) I | BATAVORVM | DOMV VLTI|N(I)A COLON(IA) | SEPT(IMIA) AVR(ELIA) L(ARINO) | V.S.L.M.

A.D. 205-11 and is therefore to be associated with the first Mithraeum; its top, carved from a separate block, is missing but the front of the capital has an interesting decoration of a row of three eggs in relief [1]). The second altar, of L. Antonius Proculus [2]), dated between A.D. 213 and 222 and so connected with the earliest phase of the second, enlarged, temple, is plain save for "the rich and well-carved mouldings on base and capital".

The third, dedicated by M. Simplicius Simplex [3]) (Pl. V, 1), its separate top missing and its capital broken off, is "epigraphically the least distinguished of the three" and cannot be precisely dated[4]). In other respects, however, it is of considerable interest, having on the front, above the dedication, a relief, originally painted [5]), of Mithras identified as Sol at his epiphany. The god, whose naked torso is visible even through the folds of his cloak, carries a whip in his right hand and has a radiate crown of which the actual rays are pierced for illumination by lamps placed in a recess carved in the back of the altar [6]).

Of the relief of Mithras slaying the bull which stood on a shelf built into the wall of the niche, only one small fragment remained, a horn of the bull, carved in high relief. The statues of the dadophori which had survived the destruction of A.D. 296-7 were also badly damaged when found, Cautes having been decapitated and Cautopates broken off at the shins. No trace of a second pair, the existence of which may be inferred [7]), was found during the excavation, but the upper part of a figure of Cautopates in Chesters Museum is said to come from Carrawburgh [1].

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[1]) See below p. 27, n. 3.

[2]) *JRS*, XL (1950), p. 114 (1); *CIMRM*, I, 845: D(EO) INV(ICTO) M(ITHRAE) | L. ANTONIVS | PROCVLVS | PRAEF(ECTVS) COH(ORTIS) I BAT(AVORVM) | ANTONINIANAE | V.S.L.M.

[3]) *JRS*, XL (1950), p. 115 (3); *CIMRM*, I, 847-8; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 154 (70), pl. 75: DEO INVICTO | MITRAE M. SIM|PLICIVS SIMPLEX | PR(A)EF(ECTVS) | V.S.L.M.

[4]) It may belong to either of the two renovations of Mithraeum II or to the final reconstruction, Mithraeum III.

[5]) The body and face were originally plastered white and painted and the cloak was scarlet. The lettering of the inscription was also painted red.

[6]) A lead plate with the head of Sol from the S. Prisca Mithraeum was similarly pierced for illumination (*CIMRM*, I, 494). *Cf.* also a fragment from Rome (*CIMRM*, I, 458) and a figure from Sarmizegetusa (*CIMRM*, II, 2053).

[7]) The pedestals at the south end of the nave, disused in the final period

The destruction of the principal sculptures, in contrast to the preservation of the altars [2], is clearly indicative of deliberate desecration rather than the random pillaging of stone-robbers, and the destruction of the temple may thus reasonably be ascribed to Christian hands. The total absence of Constantinian coins in the building in fact suggests that it was abandoned early in the fourth century, and the final Mithraeum, reconstructed only after the barbarian invasion, can therefore have had but a short life [3].

Rudchester (*VINDOVALA*)

The existence of a Mithraeum at Rudchester [4] (Fig. 1, p. 51) was first indicated in 1844 [5], when workmen digging for stones discovered five altars and a statue "lying near the surface of the soil" in a mound of earth to the south-west of the fort and some 150 yards north-west of a rock-cut cistern known as "the Giant's Grave". Timely intervention saved the altars, of which four were inscribed,

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of the Mithraeum, must originally have held dadophori other than those surviving, though these were possibly destroyed in A.D. 296-7 (*AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 32).

[1] *AA*, XL (1962), pp. 114-15. This is unlikely to have been one of the missing pair since it was not apparently intended to stand free. If the attribution to Carrawburgh is correct there may therefore have been yet another pair, presumably associated with the final reconstruction.

[2] All damage to the altars is of comparatively recent date and their displacement due to subsidence of the building (*AA*, XXIX (1951), pp. 40-1).

[3] It is not clear whether the abandonment and desecration occurred at the same time, but in that the latter took place "long before A.D. 350" it seems likely to have been inspired by a Christian commandant rather than to have been the result of any general Christian belligerence, and, if so, the Mithraists may in effect have been evicted—though it is also possible that the action was taken at a moment when the temple was temporarily in disuse (*cf. AA*, XXIX (1951), pp. 42-3). Although no comparable terminus can be ascertained for the destruction of Rudchester and Housesteads, the similarity of the circumstances suggests that there too the abandonment and desecration may have been virtually simultaneous and provoked by an individual Christian officer.

[4] *Cf. MMM*, II, pp. 392-3; *CIMRM*, I, pp. 291-2; II, pp. 38-41.

[5] *AJ*, I (1844), p. 385; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1845, pt. I, p. 292; *AA*, IV (1846), pp. 5-14; NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XII, pp. 36-9.

but the statue, probably of one of the dadophori, was broken up "for the purpose of covering a drain".

In 1953 [1]), excavation at the spot where these monuments had apparently been found [2]) revealed the Mithraeum itself, the north wall, the northern part of the west wall, and the apse standing to a maximum height of 6 feet. The greater part of the south wall had, however, disappeared, "leaving a shallow foundation trench as its only trace", and nothing at all remained of the south-west corner, the disturbance of the ground at this point suggesting, as might be expected, that the altars had in fact stood at the west end in front of the apse.

The original temple, probably built in the early decades of the third century [3]), had an overall length of about 60 feet, including the eccentric narthex at the east end, the body of the building, entered from this narthex through a door in the east wall, being "42½ feet from east to west along the north wall, and 26 feet from north to south" [4]), and narrowing somewhat towards the west end owing to a slight deviation in the north wall. The nave, 10 feet wide and probably floored with boards or organic material, was flanked by benches of beaten clay, 6 feet wide and 1 foot high, revetted with stone and terminating somewhat further from the west end than is usual [5]). At the western end was a segmental apse 4 feet deep and the same width as the nave.

Of the history of the Mithraeum during the following decades little could be deduced since there was no evidence of successive floor levels to indicate possible periods of temporary disuse and restoration. Clear traces of rebuilding in one of the walls together with other structural points showed, however, that the building had undergone one major reconstruction, and there was some reason to suppose that this took place "towards the end of the third century" [1]. The walls of the temple itself were rebuilt without change, the principal alteration being the abolition of the narthex which was demolished and levelled. An area of the nave near the door was now flagged, though the rest was evidently floored as before with beaten earth, boards, or other organic material, and the benches were lengthened towards the west wall, gaps left in the revetment indicating the positions of the roof supports. To this reconstruction also belongs the dais in the apse. Thus restored, and with perhaps some subsequent modification [2], the Mithraeum continued in use into the fourth century, but for a short time only, its final abandonment and evident desecration being almost certainly the result of Christian action [3].

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[1]) *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 176-219 (also available as an offprint: Gillam and MacIvor, *The Temple of Mithras at Rudchester*).

[2]) *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 179-80, fig. 1. Cumont (*MMM*, II, pp. 392-3) was misled by the description of Bruce (*Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., pp. 127-8).

[3]) Part of the site had previously been occupied by a stone structure apparently dating from the Antonine period and probably destroyed in A.D. 197.

[4]) These measurements are external; the walls were 2 feet thick.

[5]) But compare Housesteads, where the benches apparently terminated some 10-12 feet from the west wall (below pp. 31-2).

Certain of the inscribed and sculptured stones recovered from the Mithraeum belong definitely to the period following the rebuilding, but others cannot be firmly attributed to any particular phase [4]. Of the four inscribed altars discovered in 1844 [5] three were dedicated by prefects, suggesting, as at Carrawburgh, that the interest of individual officers was a significant factor in the Mithraism of the Wall forts, and one in fact records the restoration of the temple by the dedicator [6]. Of the other two, that of P. Aelius Titullus [7] is unremarkable, but the dedication of Aponius Rogatianus [8] is interesting for the equation of Apollo and Mithras [9] and the rare use of the Greek form *anicetus* in place of the common *invictus*[1]), which together "suggest a touch of Greek learning—or pedantry—in the dedicator" [2]).

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[1] *AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 196.

[2] *AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 201.

[3] *Cf.* above p. 23, n. 3.

[4] *AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 191. The stones are described on pp. 203-11; with two exceptions, those that survive are apparently of "the same fairly coarse-grained cream-coloured millstone grit".

[5] *AA*, IV (1846), pp. 5-14; *LS*, pp. 42-4 (62-5); NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XII, pp. 38-9; *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 203-8, with full discussion of the inscriptions by Birley on pp. 211-13.

[6] *LS*, 62; *CIL*, VII, 542; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 476; *CIMRM*, I, 842: DEO SOLI INVIC(TO) | TIB. CL. DECIMVS | CORNEL(IVS) ANTO|NIVS PRAEF(ECTVS) | TEMPL(VM) RESTIT(VIT).

[7] *LS*, 63; *CIL*, VII, 541; *EE*, IX, p. 585; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 475; *CIMRM*, I-II, 841: DEO INVICTO | MYTRAE P. AEL (IVS) | TITVLLVS PRAE (FECTVS) | V.S.L.L.M.

[8] *LS*, 64; *CIL*, VII, 543; *JRS*, XXXIII (1943), p. 37, n. 12; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 477; *CIMRM*, I, 843; II, 842: SOLI | APOLLINI | ANICETO | [MITHRAE] | APON[I]VS | ROGAT[I]ANVS | [PRAEF(ECTVS) V.S.L.M.].

[9] Compare the altar from Whitley Castle (below pp. 47-8).

The remaining inscribed altar [3]) (Pls. VI-VII), a monument of considerable importance, was the gift of a centurion L. Sentius Castus [4]), and is dedicated simply *DEO*. The single word is encircled by a wreath from which hangs the tablet bearing the rest of the inscription, and the whole is flanked by two palm branches [5]). The identity of the god is not, however, in doubt. On the face of the capital above the inscription are the badly damaged remains of a relief which probably portrayed Mithras' birth from the rock [6]), while on the base below another relief shows a bareheaded figure grasping a bull by the horns as if to throw it. Evidently an incident in Mithras' struggle with the bull, the latter is of particular interest in that representations of this cycle, as distinct from the actual bull-slaying, are comparatively rare outside the Danube region and the Rhineland [7]). On the left side of the capital is a bull's head,

[1]) Compare the dedication on an altar from Sarmizegetusa (*CIMRM*, II, 2146).

[2]) NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XII, p. 39.

[3]) *LS*, 65; *CIL*, VII, 544; *MMM*, II, 272b, Inscr. 478; *CIMRM*, I-II, 839-40: DEO | L. SENTIVS | CASTVS | (Ↄ) LEG(IONIS) VI D(ONO) P(OSVIT).

[4]) The choice of symbolism on the altar may perhaps suggest that Castus was of Danubian (?Dalmatian) rather than African origin (*cf.* *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 213-14).

[5]) The prominence of the wreath led Cumont to suggest that the altar might commemorate the elevation of the dedicator to the grade of *Miles*, as apparently described by Tertullian (*de corona*, 15). The grade, unlike that of *Leo*, was not, however, of major significance in the cult, nor is it certain that Tertullian's description refers to it, since the word *miles* might also be used of any Mithraic initiate as compared to a soldier of Christ (*cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, p. 118 (p. 145)). It may be therefore that the wreath is symbolic of Mithraic initiation in general, but it may, like the other devices on the altar, allude to Mithras himself, recalling the words said by Tertullian (*de corona*, 15) to have been spoken by the initiate *dicens Mithram esse coronam suam*, with, perhaps, a pun on the word *mitra*. On the other hand, the combination of wreath and palm branches is elsewhere associated with the grade of *Pater* and could have a similar reference in the present instance. (*cf.* Vermaseren and van Essen, *S. Prisca*, ch. XIII; *Mnemosyne*, IV (1951), p. 295).

[6]) *Cf.* *Durham University Journal*, XXXI (1938), p. 4.

[7]) *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, pp. 63-8 (pp. 79-84).

facing [1]), and on the right what is apparently a Phrygian cap [2]). Below this, on the right of the base, are three swords, pointing downwards [3]), while the left side of the base is plain. In the back of the altar are two recesses, centrally placed one above the other, which probably held lamps for concealed illumination of the reredos relief.

Five small uninscribed votive altars [4]) similar to those at Carrawburgh were also found, one in 1844 and the rest in the excavation of 1953, at intervals in front of the north bench. Close to one of these, and against the face of the bench, was an oval sandstone laver [5]), probably *in situ* and originally balanced by another against the south bench.

Of the relief of Mithras the Bull-Slayer, which must have stood in the apse, no trace was found, though a grooved slab which may have served as its base was recovered from the disturbed ground at the south-west corner [6]). In fact, apart from the statue broken up in 1844 [7]), the only fragments of sculpture discovered were two very battered heads [8]), evidently of the dadophori, which came from the eastern part of the nave, and a fragment of a limb found in the narthex [9]). It is possible that one of the heads may originally have belonged to the 1844 statue, but their general character and the stone of which they were made "differed so much that they cannot have formed a pair" 1). As at Carrawburgh, therefore, there seem to have been two pairs of torch-bearers.

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[1]) *Cf. CIMRM*, II, 1150, 2028 (altars); I, 335, 279.

[2]) Damage to the capital precludes final identification, but *cf. AA*, IV (1846), pl. opp. p. 7; NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XII, pl. opp. p. 36. The Phrygian cap can be parallelled on altars, alone (*CIMRM*, II, 1059, 1087) and with the sword (*CIMRM*, I, 987; II, 1496, 1672, and *cf.* II, 1083B, 1973).

[3]) *Cf.* the refs. cited above n. 2 and *CIMRM*, I, 335, 279, 240. The triple repetition of the sword may allude to the trinity of Mithras, Cautes and Cautopates (*cf. Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies*, XVII (1955), pp. 243-9; Vermaseren, *Mithras*, pp. 57-9 (pp. 72-4)). Three eggs occur on an altar from Carrawburgh (above p. 22), three cypresses on a relief from Pettau (*CIMRM*, II, 1510 (2)), and a tree with three branches ending in heads on a relief from Dieburg (*CIMRM*, II, 1247 (10)).

[4]) *LS*, 66; *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 208-10; *CIMRM*, II 843B.

[5]) *CIMRM*, II, 843E; *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 200, 211, pl. XVII (1). Lavers were found at Carrawburgh (above p. 20) and in the Walbrook Mithraeum, where one was carefully hidden in the second cache (above p. 11).

[6]) *AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 199, 210-11.

[7]) *CIMRM*, II, 843C, and *cf.* above p. 23, n. 5.

[8]) *CIMRM*, II, 843D; *AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 210.

[9]) *Ibid.*

Again as at Carrawburgh, the almost complete destruction of the principal sculptures is in marked contrast to the preservation of the altars 2), and for a similar reason. What is perhaps remarkable is that the altar of Sentius Castus with its unequivocally Mithraic symbolism should have escaped, since the rock-birth and the scene of Mithras with the bull can hardly have been as innocuous to the Christians as were, apparently, the radiate busts of the Sun-God which they spared at Carrawburgh and Housesteads 3).

Housesteads (*VERCOVICIVM*)

The Mithraeum at Housesteads 4) lies in a small bank on the edge of the marshy valley at the foot of the slope on which the fort and *vicus* are situated, and west of the rocky outcrop known as Chapel Hill. It was first discovered and partially excavated in 1822 by workmen digging for stones 5), but it was not until 1898 that the site was completely cleared.

The digging of 1822, observed and reported by the Rev. J. Hodgson 6) (Fig. 2, p. 52), revealed a fairly small rectangular chamber about 12 feet 8 inches from north to south by 10 feet from east to

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1) *AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 201. The stone of one is "much grittier".

2) Such damage as the altars have suffered, including that to the rock-birth on the altar of Castus, is of comparatively recent occurrence (*AA*, XXXII (1954), pp. 201, 206).

3) *Cf. AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 43.

4) *Cf. MMM*, II, pp. 393-6; *CIMRM*, I, pp. 296-300.

5) The site was disturbed earlier, in 1809, when a field drain was cut through it and "great quantities of stones . . . dug out of the foundations of very extensive walls . . ." (*AA*, I (1822), p. 274).

6) *AA*, I (1822), pp. 273 f.; *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, pp. 190-4. The latter account, published in 1840, differs in some details and includes certain afterthoughts which do not seem to be justified by the earlier description. The earliest note of the discoveries, which appeared in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, 26 Oct. 1822, is reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1822, pt. II, pp. 545-6 and *LS*, pp. 96 f. This note is anonymous, but probably from the pen of the editor of the newspaper, Mr Thomas Hodgson.

west [1]), with a recess in the west end some 2½ feet deep and 7 feet wide. The walls stood "about 4 feet high on the inside, but not level with the surface of the ground" [2]) and only the east wall was faced on both sides, the other three being rough and irregular on the outside "as if they had originally been built below the level of the adjoining ground" [3]). An opening in the east wall was assumed by Hodgson to communicate with other "apartments" the walls of which had been seen in 1809 [4]). The floor of the chamber which was "between four and five feet below the surface" [5]) was paved with thick sandstone slabs. Within the chamber and with their backs "nearly in a line with the outside of the recess" [6]) stood, facing the east, two large inscribed altars and the damaged sculpture of Mithras *Saecularis*, while a smaller inscribed altar stood in the north-east corner near the opening. In front of the sculpture of Mithras were the surviving fragments of a relief of the bull-slaying [7]) and "on one side immediately behind it, and on a sort of pedestal of hewn stone, thirty inches square, but very slightly raised above the level of the floor", lay a broken and headless statue of Cautes [8]).

[1]) It is clear from the wording of Hodgson's earlier account and of the *Newcastle Chronicle* note, which speaks of "an area or chamber about 12 feet square, and surrounded by walls . . .", that the measurements given are internal. Bosanquet, who in his report of the 1898 excavations (*AA*, XXV (1904), p. 255) assumed that Hodgson's measurements included the walls, was presumably misled by the somewhat ambiguous statement in *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 190, n.g, and the apparent proportions of the chamber as shown in Hodgson's two plans, though these are, in fact, mere sketches.

[2]) *Newcastle Chronicle* account. Hodgson's wording (*AA*, I (1822), p. 273) is ambiguous, but may imply a similar height for the east wall at least.

[3]) *AA*, I (1822), p. 273.

[4]) See above p. 28, n. 5. The exact position of the opening is uncertain, though both of Hodgson's sketches show it slightly to the north of centre, while the *Newcastle Chronicle* account describes it as "towards the northern end of the east side". In Hodgson's later sketch the outer walls of the cell are prolonged to the east, but there is no indication of this in either of his descriptions.

[5]) *AA*, I (1822), p. 273. This is confirmed by the fact that the top of the larger altar (height 4 feet 7 inches) was almost level with the surface.

[6]) *AA*, I (1822), p. 274. The *Newcastle Chronicle* account describes their position as "About two feet in front of this recess, and so placed as to afford a free passage round them".

[7]) *AA*, I (1822), pp. 283, 288.

[8]) *AA*, I (1822), pp. 274, 290. Hodgson supposed the statue to have stood

Also within the chamber were "some uninscribed altars, and other articles of little antiquarian value" ¹) and "a plain altar seventeen inches high and bearing an illegible inscription" ²) was found outside the cell "a few yards from the door-way in the east wall" ³).

The re-excavation of the site by R. C. Bosanquet in 1898 ⁴) (Fig. 3, p. 52) was undertaken in the hope of finding further fragments of the shattered relief of the bull-slaying but prompted "still more by a conviction that the little cell opened in 1822 was only the inner sanctuary, not the main body of the temple" ⁵). In fact, the second excavation failed to re-discover the "little cell", which had evidently been robbed out in the earlier search for stone, nor did it produce any further fragments of the great relief. The foundations to the east were, however, cleared and recognised as those of "a Mithraeum of normal type" and two inscribed altars and three broken sculptures were found among the ruins.

The builders of the Mithraeum had, in the words of Bosanquet, "produced the semblance of a cave by excavating a strip of ground some fifty feet long and twenty wide, and lining it with rough walls. Its depth was slight at the east end and increased as the ground rose towards the west; the floor of the west end . . . must have been five feet below the outer ground-level. Internally, the temple measured about forty-two feet by sixteen, and probably consisted originally of a small vestibule, a long nave with raised aisles, and an

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"at the outlet of the cave", but "too much of the western wall of the recess had been taken up" to enable him to form "any correct notion how this symbolical gate was formed . . .". In view of this, his later statement (*Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III. p. 190, n.g) that "Immediately behind the altars there were indications of a passage by stone steps or stairs through the west wall", and the appearance of such a passage in the accompanying sketch, must be regarded with suspicion.

¹) *AA*, I (1822), p. 273, and *cf.* p. 278. The *Newcastle Chronicle* account refers to "four or five other smaller altars".

²) *AA*, I (1822), p. 291. The inscription was subsequently read by Bruce (*LS*, 183).

³) *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 190, n.g, and compare the position marked on the earlier plan.

⁴) *AA*, XXV (1904), pp. 255-63.

⁵) *AA*, XXV (1904), pp. 256-7. It is not clear whether Hodgson himself realised that the other "apartments" might be an extension of the Mithraeum, but the author of the *Newcastle Chronicle* article refers to the chamber as "a temple, or part of a temple".

inner shrine" [1]. Much of the outer walls had vanished, and of the interior only the central portion survived. The nave, some 6½ feet wide and paved with flags 2 to 4 inches thick, was flanked by benches about 5 feet wide. Parts of the front walls of these, faced on the outside, were preserved, at one point to a height of almost 2 feet, and the body of the benches seems to have been of "stamped clay on a bed of stone-chips". Remains of a second floor were found in one part of the nave, consisting of "planks of oak and small birch logs laid on stone-chippings, which in turn rested on the original pavement" [2]. Towards the western end and immediately in front of the north bench was a rectangular tank lined with flags, in which rose a spring [3].

The east end of the Mithraeum was "almost obliterated" and a mass of masonry at the north-east angle "may have been below the floor-level of the porch and vestibule" or represent "a raised platform in front of the entrance" [4]. Of the west end "practically nothing" survived, but it was clear that the building extended no further than the foundations shown on Bosanquet's plan, and that the chamber found by Hodgson "must be fitted, despite some discrepancies in dimensions, into the gap at the west end" [5].

The total internal measurement of Hodgson's cell from west to east (12 feet 6 inches including the recess) is in fact rather greater than the distance from the inner face of Bosanquet's west wall to the surviving portion of the north bench, but if the recess is assumed to have been in the thickness of the west wall, of which in 1898 only the foundations remained [6], a gap of about 2 feet is left at the east, sufficient perhaps to accommodate Hodgson's eastern wall faced on both sides, the thickness of which is not recorded (*cf.* Figs. 4-5, p. 53). The discrepancy of 3 feet 4 inches in width from north to south is, however, less easily explained, since the north and south walls found in 1822 and faced on the inside only were presumably external, and can hardly have been free standing within those indicated by Bosanquet [1]). That Hodgson's measurement is incorrect seems unlikely since the area of the chamber was clearly delimited by walls on all sides [2]). In 1898, on the other hand, little remained at the west end of the site, and it was only towards the eastern end that traces of both the outer walls survived together for some 7 or 8 feet. It was here that Bosanquet [3]) took his section and obtained a width of 16 feet for the interior of the building, and it is possible that there is some error in the application of this measurement to the western end. If so, the temple may have narrowed towards the sanctuary, perhaps by a slight deviation in one (or both) of the walls as at Rudchester [4]).

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[1] *AA*, XXV (1904), pp. 257-8. The length of 42 feet is evidently exclusive of the constructions at the eastern end.

[2] *AA*, XXV (1904), p. 260.

[3] Both Hodgson and Bosanquet remark that the site was waterlogged, and the field drain of 1809 was evidently constructed in an attempt to lead off the water from the spring. The existence of gullies on either side of the nave under the secondary floor seems to indicate that the spring also overflowed in antiquity.

[4] It seems probable that the masonry in fact represents the floor of the narthex, raised somewhat above that of the nave, as at Walbrook, perhaps to prevent water from seeping into the temple as Bosanquet suggests.

[5] *AA*, XXV (1904), p. 260.

[6] *Ibid.*

There remains the problem of the east wall with its eccentric opening discovered in 1822, of which no trace was found in the later excavation. The nature and purpose of this wall are obscure, though the fact that it was faced on both sides confirms that it was an internal feature [5]). It must have lain very close to the ends of the two side benches of the Mithraeum and may in fact have served to revet these, but its greater height [6]) and apparent extension across the southern half of the nave would seem to indicate some sort of screen restricting access to the sanctuary [7]).

[1]) The overall discrepancy would allow a maximum of only 1 foot 8 inches at either side, scarcely enough for a free-standing wall. Any reconstruction implying a raised sanctuary, as at Dura-Europos, Mithraeum III (*CIMRM*, I, p. 60, fig. 11) is unlikely, since the floor levels noted in the two excavations seem to have been consistent.

[2]) The measurement is also confirmed independently by the *Newcastle Chronicle* account (above p. 29, n. 1).

[3]) Although Bosanquet was director of excavations at Housesteads in 1898, the actual work on the Mithraeum was in the hands of Thomas Ashby (Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall*, p. 181) and the plans were drawn up by A. C. Dickie (*AA*, XXV (1904), p. 204).

[4]) *AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 190, and *cf.* also *AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 10.

[5]) It cannot therefore have been a remnant of an original west wall of an earlier and smaller temple, as at Carrawburgh (*cf.* *AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 13).

[6]) See above p. 29, n. 2.

[7]) *Cf.* *AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 12.

The lack of detailed information about the temple itself is, to some extent, compensated by the importance and interest of the sculptures and inscriptions found during the two excavations [1]).

Of the great relief of Mithras the Bull-Slayer, originally some 7 feet in height and correspondingly wide, only six fragments survived [2]). The largest, nearly 6 feet high and from the right hand edge of the scene, is in three pieces and shows Cautes, holding torch and caduceus [3]), standing by the foreleg of the bull; the others preserve parts of the bull's head, Mithras' right hand grasping the dagger, his right shoulder, the edge of his tunic and the major part of the dog. To Hodgson the fragments "by the cleanness and freshness of their fractures, appeared as if they had been very recently broken off" — "stricken off with a hammer and by design" [4]) and, since they had not been so broken by the workmen excavating the chamber, he supposed that the damage had been done at the time of the cutting of the field drain in 1809 [5]). That this was in fact the case does not seem altogether probable, since the cutting for the drain passed to the east of the chamber, and for the surviving fragments to have been scattered where they were found the whole area would have had to be opened up and disturbed, for which there is no evidence [6]).

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[1]) *AA*, I (1822), pp. 289 f.; *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, pp. 190-4; *LS*, pp. 96-102; *AA*, XXV (1904), pp. 261-3, 281.

[2]) *LS*, 192; *MMM*, II, 273 b; *CIMRM*, I, 853. Only five of these are described and illustrated by Hodgson, the sixth (the drapery) is referred to by Collingwood (*Cat. Newcastle*, p. 64 (276)) and is incorporated in the reconstruction of the relief, which, however, omits the fragment with the hand and dagger, now lost (*cf. AA*, XL (1962), p. 107, n. 15; XLI (1963), pp. 226-7, pl. XI; *Museums Journ.*, LXIII (1964), p. 292, fig. 81).

[3]) The caduceus is unusual, but not without parallel (*cf. CIMRM*, I, 641; *AA*, XL (1962), p. 108).

[4]) *AA*, I (1822), pp. 288-9. Hodgson's reference to the "cleanness and freshness" of the fractures, which he concedes may be due to "their having been buried at a depth in the earth . . .", is of little significance, since he elsewhere remarks similarly upon the excellent preservation of the buried portions of the two large altars (*Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 190).

[5]) *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 191.

[6]) It may also be observed that had the reredos relief been standing in 1809 its top would have projected some 2 feet above the level of the ground. The upper part of the largest surviving fragment would then have been exposed to weathering, of which, however, there is no trace.

The sculpture of Mithras *Saecularis* [1] (Pl. VIII) was also damaged when found, the upper part of the stone being broken off, but the fragments were lying near it and only a few pieces were missing. This representation is unique in showing Mithras' birth from an egg instead of from the usual rock, the only approximate parallel being a well known relief at Modena [2]. The stone is 4 feet 2 inches high and 2 feet 6 inches broad, and has a plain base from which springs an egg-shaped frame sculptured with the signs of the zodiac [3]. Within the frame Mithras emerges from between the top and bottom halves of an egg, holding in his right hand a sword and in his left a torch. Like the Bacchus group from London [4] and the Carrawburgh altar [5] the piece may have been intended to be seen against a light. The unusual imagery of the representation "shows a dedicator with advanced religio-philosophical leanings, and supports the conclusion that Mithraism was strongly dependent on the senior officers in Wall-forts" [6].

Both the altars which flanked the egg-birth are dedicated to Mithras *Saecularis*, the larger on the right by Litorius Pacatianus, a "consular beneficiary" [1], and that on the left by a centurion Publius Proculinus [2]. The latter, dated to A.D. 252, is of a different stone from the altar of Pacatianus, the egg-birth, the reredos relief and the dadophorus found in 1822, which may perhaps have belonged to the original furniture of the temple [3].

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[1] *LS*, 188; *MMM*, II, 273d; *CIMRM*, I, 860; *AA*, XL (1962), pp. 108-13, 277-80, pl. XXVII; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 154 (71), pl. 74.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 695. The figure is that of the Orphic Phanes, and its subsequent Mithraic significance is uncertain. Though similar to the type of Ahriman (*cf.* below p. 43, n. 6), it may perhaps have been interpreted as Mithras himself born into the cosmos (*cf.* below n. 6). For another comparable figure which may be Mithras see *CIMRM*, I, 777, and for the identification of Mithras with Phanes compare *CIMRM*, I, 475.

[3] *Cf. CIMRM*, I, 985.

[4] See above pp. 14-15.

[5] See above p. 22.

[6] *AA*, XL (1962), p. 111. The suggestion (pp. 108-11) that Mithras is here identified with Aion is misleading in so far as it implies assimilation to a supreme deity, Infinite Time, commonly represented by the lion-headed figure which seems in fact to be Ahriman (*cf.* below p. 43, n. 6). As the hero who by his labours will bring to an end the finite Aion of Ahriman and inaugurate the infinite Aion of Ohrmazd, Mithras belongs in a sense to both (as Mithras *Saecularis*), and the zodiac which here and elsewhere frames his birth and the cardinal act of the bull-slaying (*cf.* above pp. 7-8) may thus be symbolic of the present Aion into which he is born and which until its dissolution is the realm of Ahriman, to whom its attributes properly belong. For the concept of Aion *cf.* the refs. cited below p. 43, n. 6, and, in particular, *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XX (1951), pp. 167-8; Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2nd ed., II, pp. 498 f.

Of the four remaining inscribed altars [4], that found by Hodgson in the north-east corner of the chamber is the only one which is specifically Mithraic [5] (Pl. V, 2). On the capital is a radiate bust of the Sun-God, and the dedication *Soli* by one Herion is one of the few in Britain not apparently by an officer or a military official. As at Carrawburgh, extraneous altars were introduced into the temple possibly "as a pious way of providing for dedicated objects, which had now no temple of their own" [6]. The altar found to the east of the small chamber in 1822 and dedicated to Cocidius was one such [7], and another, with a similar dedication, was found in the western part of the nave in 1898 [8]. A third stray, dedicated to Mars and Victory, was also found in the second excavation, lying loose in the eastern part of the temple [9].

The other sculptures from the Mithraeum are four in number, of which the broken and headless statue of Cautes[10] found lying in the niche of the little cell in 1822 has already been mentioned. Although no trace of a companion Cautopates was noted by Hodgson, a second pair of dadophori was subsequently recovered from the nave by Bosanquet [1]. Both were much damaged, and the head of Cautopates was missing altogether. Near them was a third figure [2] (Pl. IX), of a man clad in a short tunic and standing to attention with clenched fists. It is headless and lacks any distinctive attribute, but is evidently to be interpreted as Ahriman [3].

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[1] *LS*, 189; *CIL*, VII, 645; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 479; *CIMRM*, I, 861, 864: DEO | SOLI INVI|CTO MYTRAE | SAECVLARI | LITORIVS | PACATIANVS | BF. COS. PRO | SE ET SVIS V.S.|L.M.

[2] *LS*, 190; *CIL*, VII, 646; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 480; *CIMRM*, I, 861, 863: DEO SOLI | INVICTO M(Y)T|RAE SAECVLARI | PVBL(IVS) PROCVLI|NVS Ↄ PRO SE | ET PROCVLO FIL(IO) | SVO V.S.L.M. | DD. NN. GALLO ET | VOLVSINO COS.

[3] *AA*, XL (1962), p. 112.

[4] Three other inscribed stones have been wrongly described as altars from Housesteads (*cf. AA*, XL (1962), p. 107). These are: 1) *CIL*, VII, 648; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 482; *CIMRM*, I, 868; 2) *CIL*, VII, 649; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 483; *CIMRM*, I, 869; 3) *CIL*, VII, 650; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 484; *cf. CIMRM*, I, 836.

[5] *LS*, 191; *CIL*, VII, 647; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 481; *CIMRM*, I, 858-9: SOLI | HERION | V.L.M.

[6] *AA*, XL (1962), p. 106, but *cf. AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 33, n. 39.

[7] *LS*, 183; *CIMRM*, I, 861, 867.

[8] *AA*, XXV (1904), p. 281; *CIMRM*, I, 861, 866.

[9] *AA*, XXV (1904), p. 281; *CIMRM*, I, 861, 865.

[10] *MMM*, II, 273c; *CIMRM*, I, 854. *N.B.* fig. 225 is not this piece but 857.

The condition of these sculptures, recalling the similar damage done at Carrawburgh [4], together with the shattering of the reredos relief and the smashing of the egg-birth [5], is suggestive of deliberate desecration and may perhaps indicate that the final overthrow of the Mithraeum was the work ot Christians rather than a consequence of the barbarian invasions at the end of the third century [6]. In fact, the history of the building cannot now be reconstructed in any detail, though it was probably first built in the early decades of the third century, and seems to have undergone at least one partial reconstruction as shown by the raising of the floor [7].

Caernarvon (*SEGONTIVM*)

The temple at *SEGONTIVM* [8] (Fig. 6, p. 54), first discovered in 1958 and excavated the following year, lay about 150 yards east of the eastern corner of the fort and almost at the bottom of a small marshy valley through which, in Roman times, a stream probably ran. Erected in the early years of the third century ¹), the building was comparatively poor and changed little in basic plan during the three phases of its history until its desertion just before the turn of the century. It was 48 feet long and 21½ feet wide overall, roughly constructed of stone, mostly undressed beach boulders, and roofed throughout the whole period of its use with local slate. The body of the temple was 35 feet by 18 feet internally, with a rectangular niche 8 feet wide and 1 foot 6 inches deep in the north wall ²), and a narthex 6 feet by 18 feet at the south, which was almost completely destroyed. The nave, originally about 8 feet wide, was flanked by benches some 1 foot 3 inches high, running right up to the narthex wall and reached by steps at the side and not at the ends as at Carrawburgh and Rudchester.

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[1] *CIMRM*, I, 856-7.

[2] *CIMRM*, I, 855; *AA*, XL (1962), pp. 113-14, pl. XVI (1).

[3] *Cf.* below p. 43, n. 6. If the figure is in fact Ahriman, the form in which he is represented may be the outcome of further philosophical speculation connected with the concept of Mithras *Saecularis*. For a somewhat similar figure, also headless, which may, however, be a dadophorus, see Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 14 (7266), and *cf. CIMRM*, I, 97.

[4] *AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 41, and *cf.* above pp. 22-3. As at Carrawburgh, the altars were left intact (*cf. AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 42).

[5] See above pp. 33-4. At Carrawburgh only a single fragment of the reredos relief was found (*AA*, XXIX (1951), p. 41).

[6] *Cf. AA*, XXXII (1954), p. 218, and above p. 23, n. 3.

[7] The altar of Proculinus (A.D. 252) may be connected with this or another refurbishing.

[8] *Arch. Cambrensis*, CIX (1960), pp. 136-72, and *cf. CIMRM*, II, pp. 399, 401.

The principal feature of the temple's second phase was the insertion of a timber colonnade at the front of each bench, the line of the benches being accommodated to that of the columns with the result that they were no longer parallel or of constant width. That the bases supporting the columns had already been in use elsewhere was clear from their diversity of shape and the presence of wear in unexposed places, and their irregular spacing and alignment suggested that their function was to underpin the roof rather than to support a clerestory. The existing brick-mortar floor was patched and a drain inserted which presumably served a small cistern placed half way along the nave against the west bench.

The third phase involved a complete restoration consequent upon the collapse of the roof, many of the slates being left where they fell and serving to raise the floor by some 9 inches to a level above that at which it was liable to become waterlogged. The timber colonnading was not replaced, and the benches, raised in height and lengthened, reverted to being of similar width and parallel. At the northern end of the east bench was a cobbled platform, level with the sill which now ran along the front of each, and the niche appears to have been reached by a flight of steps.

¹) Remains of an earlier structure, probably of late Flavian date, were found beneath the temple. A foundation deposit in the niche dated to about A.D. 200 (*Arch. Cambrensis*, CIX (1960), p. 144).

²) The temple was orientated 30°E. of N., but for the sake of convenience is here described as though aligned north-south (*cf.* above p. 17, n. 3).

Four small altars belonging to this final phase of the Mithraeum were recovered, one lying broken where it had fallen, the others smashed and scattered throughout the nave. At least one had been inscribed 1), but only the last line of the text survived 2). No statuary was found, the sole trace being part of a pedestal, from the southern end of the east bench, which had presumably held one of the dadophori.

One minor item of the temple furniture remained sufficiently intact to permit a possible reconstruction,—a two branched candleholder of iron with a central finial and socketed base 3). Parts of at least twelve lamps were associated with the first phase of the building, and the absence of any later, together with the discovery of the candlestick from the third phase, indicates that oil lighting was early replaced by tapers and candles.

The dates of the final phase of the temple and its eventual abandonment are difficult to assess from the very limited indications which came to light 4). The evidence of the desertion of the site suggests, however, that the third phase ended with the withdrawal, *c.* A.D. 290, of the fort garrison, who probably carried away the principal monuments or hid them outside the confines of the temple. The building then lay deserted until the fort was again garrisoned, *c.* A.D. 350, and was subsequently destroyed and desecrated by fire and its remaining altars smashed.

In addition to the five temples now known there is evidence of Mithraism at a number of other sites, all of them military—at two more at least of the Wall forts 5), Castlesteads and Carlisle, at two forts on Dere Street, High Rochester some 22 miles north of the

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1) The carefully smoothed surface of another may indicate that it bore a painted inscription (*Arch. Cambrensis*, CIX (1960), p. 153).

2) S.C.O.Ɔ — "being, in all probability, initials of the *tria nomina* of the dedicator, followed by the centurial sign". The dedicator was presumably a centurion of the *Cohors I Sunicorum*. *Cf. Arch. Cambrensis*, CIX (1960), p. 166; *JRS*, L (1960), p. 236 (4).

3) *Arch. Cambrensis*, CIX (1960), pp. 155, 162-4, pl. XVI, and *cf. JRS*, L (1960), p. 210, n. 2.

4) *Arch. Cambrensis*, CIX (1960), p. 153.

5) The evidence for the cult at two other sites on the Wall is less satis-

Wall and Lanchester about 18 miles south, and at the three great legionary fortresses of York, Chester and Caerleon.

To Castlesteads (*VXELLODVNVM*) [1]) belong two altars with Mithraic dedications seen by Horsley at Scaleby Castle [2]), the one set up by a prefect, presumably of the *Cohors II Tungrorum* stationed at the fort during the third century [3]), the other so damaged that only the first line of the inscription is intelligible [4]). A third altar [5]), long thought to be from Birdoswald (*CAMBOGLANNA*), may also be assigned to Castlesteads [6]), since the dedicator, a prefect, would have been "wholly out of place at Birdoswald" [7]). This altar was first noted at Naworth [8]) by an anonymous correspondent of Camden [9]), and appears at that time to have been more or less legible. A century later, however, Horsley [10]) could read little, and Bruce [11]), who examined the altar after it had been moved to Rokeby, could make no better of it, but as Birley has shown, "the reading provided by Camden's correspondent can be used as the basis for a perfectly satisfactory text" [12]).

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factory, depending in each case on a monument of doubtful interpretation (below p. 48).

[1]) Sometimes referred to as Cambeck, the name of the stream above which the fort is situated. The Roman *PETRIANA* is now known to have been Stanwix.

[2]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, pp. 259-60, XXVIII, XXIX. The more complete altar had previously been noted by Gibson (Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gibson 1695, col. 844).

[3]) *LS*, 437; *CIL*, VII, 889; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 490; *CIMRM*, I, 874: [DEO] SOLI | [I]NVICTO | SEX. SEVE|RIVS SA|LVATOR | [PR]AEF(ECTVS) | [V.S.]L.M.

[4]) *LS*, 436; *CIL*, VII, 890; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 485; *CIMRM*, I, 873: DEO SOLI MITR(AE) | . . . . . .] VIS | . . . . . .] COR | . . . . . .

[5]) *LS*, 372; *CIL*, VII, 831; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 489; *CIMRM*, I, 872.

[6]) *Trans.C.&W.*, LI (1951), pp. 67-8. "Some affinity" between this altar and the more legible of the two at Scaleby Castle was noted by Horsley.

[7]) There is no other satisfactory evidence of Mithraism at Birdoswald. The restoration of *CIL*, VII, 833b as Mithraic is hardly convincing (*cf. MMM*, II, Inscr. 578).

[8]) Naworth is in fact considerably nearer to Castlesteads than to Birdoswald.

[9]) *Cf. CIL*, VII, 831; *Trans.C.&W.*, XI (1911), p. 376.

[10]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 255, XV.

[11]) *LS*, 372.

[12]) *Trans. C. & W.*, LI (1951), pp. 67-8: DEO SOLI | INVICTO | M[ITH]R[A]E M[AR]|CVS LICINIV[S] | RIPANVS | PRAEF(ECTVS) V.S.

An interesting fragment of Mithraic sculpture was discovered at Carlisle (*LVGVVALIVM*), in English Street, towards the end of the nineteenth century [1]). Carved out of local red sandstone, it appears from the dedication to have been a statuette of Cautes, though only the foot of the figure now survives on the curved base. The letters are well cut, but the interpretation of the remainder of the inscription is problematic, the word *ARCHIETVS* perhaps concealing the position of the dedicator [2]).

A possible Mithraic dedication from Haltwhistle [3]) is recorded only by Stukeley who in 1725 "travelled the whole length of the *Roman* wall in *Northumberland*" and remarks that "At *Haltwisel* I got an old altar, DEO SOLI INVICTO, which I left in my garden at *Stamford*" [4]). Nothing more is known of the piece, nor is it clear from which of the Wall forts it originally came. Haltwhistle itself is not a Roman site, and the nearby Haltwhistle Burn fort appears to have been destroyed when the Wall was built, and long before the advent of Mithraism to Britain [5]). The nearest of the Wall forts is Great Chesters (*AESICA*), but both Carvoran (*MAGNIS*) and Chesterholm (*VINDOLANDA*) are also within five miles of Haltwhistle [6]).

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[1]) *PSA*, XV (1893-5), p. 120; *Trans.C.&W.*, XIII (1895), pp. 225-6; XV (1899), pp. 476-7 (33); Haverfield, *Cat. Carlisle*, p. 3 (5); *EE*, IX, 1218; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 485a; *CIMRM*, I, 875: DEO CAVTI IV[LIVS . . . . | ARCHIETVS.

[2]) *I.e.* ARCHI(T)E(C)TVS. For a similarly inept spelling, ARCITECTVS, compare the dedication on a relief of Brigantia from Birrens (*CIL*, VII, 1062; *AJ*, XCVIII (1941), pl. I; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 157 (80), pl. 77), and for another Mithraic dedication by an architect see *CIMRM*, II, 2314. Haverfield followed Zangemeister in suggesting an expansion ARCH(ITECTVS) L(A)ETVS [L(IBENS) S(OLVIT)], while Cumont preferred to read ARCHIE[R]VS *(sic)* for ἀρχιερεύς, though *archiereus* cannot be parallelled among Mithraic inscriptions.

[3]) *CIMRM*, I, 871. The attribution is uncertain, since the piece may belong to the earlier cult of Sol Invictus (*cf.* below p. 106).

[4]) Stukeley, *Palaeographia Britannica*, III, p. 33.

[5]) *Cf.* Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 11th ed. Richmond, pp. 150-1. The problem remains even if the altar be assigned to the earlier cult of Sol Invictus, the destruction of the fort antedating its possible introduction into Britain.

[6]) No evidence of Mithraism has as yet been found at any of these forts. The nearest known Mithraic site is Housesteads, a little over five miles distant.

The fort at High Rochester (*BREMENIVM*), beyond the line of the Wall in Redesdale, is the most northerly point at which Mithraism has yet been noted. A large inscribed slab 1), trimmed for secondary use as building material and with the bottom right hand corner missing, was found shortly before 1730, and records the building of a temple in the first quarter of the third century 2). It is dedicated by one L. Caecilius Optatus, a tribune of the *Cohors I Vardullorum*, —*cum consacraneis* 3), the tribune being known from two other inscriptions at the same site, an altar to Minerva and the *Genius Collegi* 4) and one to Matunus dedicated for an imperial legate 5).

Two altars from Lanchester (*LONGOVICIVM*) have also been identified as Mithraic, although in neither case is the attribution certain. The inscription on one 6), first recorded by Horsley 7), has been accepted as a dedication *Deo Invicto* on the basis of Hübner's reading, while that on the other 8), interpreted as referring to Cautopates 9), may well have no connection with the

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1) *LS*, 557; *CIL*, VII, 1039; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 486; *CIMRM*, I, 876; Richmond, *Romans in Redesdale*, pp. 145-6 (5), pl. opp. p. 145: DEO INVICTO ẸṬ SOLI SOC(IO) | SACRVM PRO SALVTE ET | INCOLVMITATE IMP(ERATORIS) CAES(ARIS) | M. AVRELI ANTONINI PII FELIC(IS) | AVG(VSTI) L. CAECILIVS OPTATVS | TRIB(VNVS) COH(ORTIS) I VARDVL(LORVM) CVM CON[SA]|CRANEIS VOTVM DEO[. . . . | A SOLO EXTRVCT[VM . . . . The word *et* has been deliberately erased, thus altering the original concept of the dedication, for which compare *CIMRM*, I, 730; II, 1207.

2) Richmond (*Romans in Redesdale*, p. 146) suggests that "The Emperor for whose welfare the dedication was made is probably Caracalla (*c*. A.D. 213)".

3) The use of the term *consacranei* confirms that the inscription is Mithraic (*cf. CIMRM*, II, 1315).

4) Richmond, *Romans in Redesdale*, p. 149 (21). The patronage of Minerva indicates that the guild was connected with the clerical administration.

5) Richmond, *op. cit.*, p. 151 (27).

6) *LS*, 689; *CIL*, VII, 434; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 487; *CIMRM*, I, 837: DEO INVI[CTO] | VOTVM|V . . . ṢIOV.

7) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 292, XXI.

8) *LS*, 675; *CIL*, VII, 1344c; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 473; *CIMRM*, I, 836: DEO M|CPSI. *CIL*, VII, 650; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 484 is an erroneous duplication of this.

9) *I.e.* DEO M(ITHRAE) C(AVTO)P(ATI) S(OLI) I(NVICTO). Such a dedication would be without parallel, but CP as an abbreviation for Cautopates is known in two other instances (*CIMRM*, I, 351, 355).

cult[1]). A third monument from Lanchester which might possibly have come from a Mithraeum is a fragmentary relief of one of the Dioscuri[2]), somewhat similar to that found in the area of the Walbrook temple[3]).

The existence of a Mithraeum at York (*EBVRACVM*) may be inferred from two discoveries made in 1747 and 1874 respectively, although the site of the temple cannot be located with certainty[4]).

In 1747 workmen digging the foundations of a large house in Micklegate[5]) opposite the church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory discovered at a depth of 10 feet, and "much below any former foundations that could be observed", a weathered limestone relief of Mithras slaying the bull within a cave[6]) (Pl. X). On either side of the central group stand the dadophori, the figure of Cautes, at the bull's head, much damaged, while above are three busts, Sol to the left of Mithras' head and Luna to the right, the third, on the extreme right, being unidentifiable[7]). Below the bull-slaying are three groups of figures, often wrongly described as grades of initiation[8]), which in fact illustrate three incidents in the cycle of Mithras and Sol[9]). On the left Sol kneels before Mithras who lays his hands upon him, in the centre the two recline at a covered table partaking of the sacred meal, and on the right Mithras steps into Sol's chariot for the journey across the heavens.

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[1]) *Cf.* Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, p. 26 (68), and the opinion of Wright (quoted in *CIMRM*, I, p. 291 (836)).

[2]) *LS*, 714; *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XVIII (1949), pp. 249, 252, fig. 1. For the possibility that the piece may be of Dolichene origin *cf.* below p. 62, n. 5.

[3]) See above p. 16.

[4]) The two discoveries were made some 250 yards apart, in the area of the civil settlement outside the legionary fortress and across the river.

[5]) In all probability no. 42 (*cf.* *Yorkshire Architect. & York Arch. Soc., Annual Report*, 1953-4, p. 43(f)).

[6]) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1751, pp. 102-3; Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, pp. 80 f.; *MMM*, II, 270; *CIMRM*, I, 835; RCHM, *Eburacum*, pp. 120-1 (67), pl. 46.

[7]) The figure is probably Mithras being born from the rock, as suggested by Cumont (*cf.* below n. 9), though it might also be Caelus (*cf.* above p. 10, n. 6). [8]) Most recently in RCHM, *Eburacum*, pp. xxvii, 121.

[9]) *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, pp. 75-85 (pp. 95-106). The representation of episodes in this cycle and the inclusion of Mithras' rock-birth in the background of the bull-slaying scene are most common on monuments from the Balkans.

In 1874 finds made in the extreme north of the Old Station Yard site during the construction of the southern arch for Station Road through the mediaeval city wall included a gritstone statue of Ahriman, and an uninscribed gritstone altar [1]. The statue [2] (Pl. XI), now headless, is that of a man, winged and naked save for a fringed loincloth tied with a snake-like belt; he carries two keys in his left hand, and in his right, now lost, he held a sceptre. On the base [3] is an inscription of uncertain interpretation [4], which seems, however, to be a dedication to Ahriman himself by one Volusius Irenaeus [5], presumably of eastern origin, and which, if so, provides a unique confirmation of the identity of the god [6]. The altar [7], the face of which is quite plain, has an axe carved in relief on the right side and a wreath on the left, but neither device is sufficiently characteristic to warrant a specifically Mithraic attribution [1].

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[1] RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 57 (g).

[2] *Yorkshire Philosophical Soc., Annual Report*, 1874, p. 9 and pl.; 1877, pp. 38-40; *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Altertumsfreunde im Rheinland*, LVIII (1876), pp. 147-54, pl. VIII; *Handbook, York*, pp. 30-1; *EE*, III, 77; *MMM*, II, 271, Inscr. 474; *CIMRM*, I, 833-4; *Proc. Soc. Biblical Arch.*, XXXIV (1912), pp. 138, 142; RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 120 (58), pl. 46.

[3] The purpose of a hole cut in the base between the feet is obscure.

[4] RCHM, *Eburacum*, fig. 81 (58): D VOL. IRE[
ARIMANIV[[D]

[5] Considerations of space alone suggest a restoration VOL(VSIVS) IRE[NAEVS] | ARIMANI(O) V.[S.L.M.] rather than VOL(VSII) IRE [NAEVS ET] | ARIMANIV[S] as has been proposed. The reading *Arimani(o)* seems necessary, since the Latin form of the god's name is invariably *Arimanius* (Gk. 'Αρειμάνιος), neither *Arimanes (*cf.* Gk. 'Αρειμάνης, 'Αρειμανής nor *Arimanus* (which occurs as a proper name) being attested in Mithraic contexts. For other dedications to Arimanius see *CIMRM*, I, 222, 369; II, 1773, 1775.

[6] The identification of the type as Ahriman, strongly argued by Legge (*Proc. Soc. Biblical Arch.*, XXXIV (1912), pp. 125-42; XXXVII (1915), pp. 151-62) has recently been re-asserted by Duchesne-Guillemin (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 128; *Numen*, II (1955), pp. 190-5; *The Western Response to Zoroaster*, pp. 79, 95) and Zaehner (*Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, pp. viii-ix; *Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies*, XVI (1954), p. 603; XVII (1955), pp. 237-43; *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 129-30), who point to the connection between Ahriman and Aion (= Finite Time) —though Duchesne-Guillemin has now modified his view (*cf. La nouvelle Clio*, X (1958-60), pp. 91-8; *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 255-7).
For the most recent statement of the contrary view, identifying the figure as the supreme deity Aion (= Infinite Time) see Vermaseren, *Mithras*, pp. 95-9 (pp. 116-22), and for the iconography *cf.* Pettazoni, *Essays on the History of Religion*, pp. 180-92, though the alleged connection with the "pantheistic" Horus is doubtful. *Cf.* also above p. 11, n. 3, p. 34, nn. 2, 6.

[7] *Handbook, York*, p. 45; RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 118 (45), pl. 44.

The only undoubted Mithraic monument from Chester (*DEVA*) was a statue of one of the dadophori [2] noted in the early eighteenth century when it was in the possession of "the reverend Mr. Prescot". "I saw at Chester", writes Stukeley [3], "when I travell'd with M. *Roger Gale*, in the year 1725, an intire statue of *Mithras*, found there. It was standing cross-leg'd, as usual; with a torch in his hands", adding elsewhere [4] that "it was found under a niche of the wall between the East gate and the river". The contemporary description of Horsley [5] provides no further information, but his drawing, though rough, clearly shows the figure to have been a Cautopates. The piece appears to have been lost already in 1874 [6] and its present whereabouts is unknown.

A block with a figure in low relief [7], found in 1853 built into a cellar wall in White Friars, may also represent Cautopates, though the attitude of the figure, who wears Phrygian dress and stands cross-legged, resting his weight upon an indistinct object held in his right hand, is not unlike that of the typical mourning Attis [8]. A second relief [9], also from a cellar wall in White Friars and found two years previously in 1851, is almost certainly an Attis, though somewhat different from this common type. The figure stands with legs straight and the right hand across the chest, holding in the left a curved staff (*pedum*); it does not in fact appear to be holding a torch in the right hand as has been suggested, and is not therefore to be identified as a Cautopates. A headless figure in high relief found in the north wall in 1891 1) has also been tentatively described as a dadophorus, Cautes, but although it stands cross-legged and is appropriately attired, the position of the arms, apparently spread out as in an attitude of prayer, is hardly consistent with such an identification.

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[1] *Cf. CIMRM*, II, 1113; I, 219, 839.

[2] *MMM*, II, 268; *CIMRM*, I, 830 (partially confused with 831).

[3] Stukeley, *Palaeographia Britannica*, III, p. 33, and *cf. Gentleman's Magazine*, 1751, pp. 102-3.

[4] Stukeley, *Iter Boreale*, p. 32.

[5] Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 316, V.

[6] Watkin, *Roman Cheshire*, p. 191.

[7] Watkin, *Roman Cheshire*, p. 191; Haverfield, *Cat. Chester*, pp. 78-9 (169); Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, p. 55 (169), pl. XL; *MMM*, II, 269a; *CIMRM*, I, 831.

[8] See below p. 103.

[9] Watkin, *Roman Cheshire*, p. 192; Haverfield, *Cat. Chester*, p. 80 (170); Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, p. 55 (170), pl XLI; *MMM*, II 269b; *CIMRM*, I, 832.

The presence of Mithraism at Caerleon (*ISCA SILVRVM*) is attested by two pieces, part of an inscribed column or columnar altar and a fragment of sculpture, both of freestone. The former 2), found in the bath building in 1849, is 3 feet 10 inches high in its present state and 1 foot 11½ inches in overall diameter, and was dedicated by a member of the *Legio II Augusta*, probably a centurion. The second, a battered head of a youth wearing a Phrygian cap 3), about three quarters life size, was found in the Priory Garden some time before 1908. The lower part of the face is badly damaged, but the upward cast of the eyes, which are well preserved, and the slight angle of the head suggest that it came from a representation of Cautes, or more probably of Mithras slaying the bull. The back and sides of the head are "simply roughed out", perhaps indicating that the sculpture was in high relief or was intended to be placed in a niche.

The possibility that there was also a Mithraeum at Gloucester (*GLEVVM*) is suggested by the discovery there of what appears to be part of a sculpture of Mithras' rock-birth 4) (Pl. XII). Found in 1924 in Commercial Road "close to the river and the line of the former city wall towards its south-west angle" 5), the fragment, of local freestone and 15 inches high, is the naked bust of a child or youth wearing a Phrygian cap. The trunk terminates at the waist

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1) Haverfield, *Cat. Chester*, p. 80 (171), pl. on p. 125; Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, p. 55 (171), pl. XL.

2) *AJ*, VIII (1851), pp. 158-9; *CIL*, VII, 99; Nash-Williams, *Cat. Caerleon*, pp. 18-19 (34), pl. VII; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 472; *CIMRM*, I, 809: [DEO IN]VICTO | [MI]THRAE | . . .]S IVSTVS | [Ɔ LE]G(IONIS) II AVG(VSTAE) | [L.]M.F.

3) Liverpool Committee, *First Annual Report*, 1908, pp. 59-60; Nash-Williams, *Cat. Caerleon*, p. 38 (81), pl. XV.

4) *JRS*, XIV (1924), pp. 231-2; *Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, LV (1933), pp. 83, 98; Rhodes, *Cat. Gloucester*, pp. 16-18 (4). The piece is variously described as a priest of the Magna Dea, a priest of Cybele, and an Attis.

5) At a depth given as 9 or 12 feet.

in what seems to be a plane surface, and the stumps of the arms, dowelled to receive separate limbs, now lost, are clearly raised, showing that the arms were originally extended to the side and slightly forwards [1]. The fleshy face, with prominent eyes and coarse features, is framed by bushy curls, completely covered by the lappets of the cap which fall to the shoulders [2]. The attitude of the figure and its general characteristics might suit a statue of Attis dancing or with cymbals, but the piece seems more likely to have belonged to a representation of Mithras born from the rock.

The remaining evidence for the cult in Britain is scattered and, with one or two exceptions, of doubtful value. The most important exception is a unique Mithraic [3] token found at St. Albans (*VERVLAMIVM*) in the filling beneath one of the walls of a building in the southern half of the town and associated with material dating from the mid and late second century A.D. [4]. The token is made from a *denarius* of Augustus of *c.* 8 B.C. [5], the design on the reverse, Tarpeia overwhelmed by the shields of the Sabines, having evidently been chosen to represent the rock-birth of Mithras. On the obverse the emperor's head has been filed away and replaced by an incised inscription reading MIΘPAC ωPOMACDHC [6] in a circle round the edge, and ΦPHN [7] across the centre. The lettering is unlikely to be much earlier than the end of the second century, which together with the date assigned to the associated material suggests that the token was fabricated—and lost—about the turn of the century.

A second find from St. Albans which appears to show Mithraic influence is part of a colour coated beaker (Castor ware) [1] recovered from a late second to early third century deposit during the excavation of a public building in *insula* xvii, opposite the theatre, in the eastern part of the town [2]. The beaker is decorated with figures of deities *en barbotine*, the diameter allowing for five, though traces of four only survive. Of one of these all but the foot is lost and of two others, Mercury and Hercules, only the lower parts remain; the fourth is that of a man dressed in a short tunic, with stars, and Phrygian cap who carries a bow in his right hand. The identity of this figure is not certain, but it seems probable that it represents Mithras, who is depicted with a bow both as a hunter and in scenes illustrating the water miracle [3].

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[1] For the position of the arms compare *CIMRM*, II, 1492, 2184, 2188.

[2] For the lappets on the Phrygian cap compare *CIMRM*, II, 2134.

[3] *CIMRM*, I, 827.

[4] Wheeler, *Verulamium: A Belgic and Two Roman Cities*, p. 221, pl. LXVI (1, 2).

[5] The token is fully discussed by Mattingly, *NChr.*, XII (1932), pp. 54-7, and *cf.* also Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 39.

[6] "The form ω for long O is normal, D for Δ reminds us that we have to do with the Greek of a Latin-speaking province" (Mattingly, *loc. cit.*).

[7] *I.e.* Prē' (Rē'). *Cf. CIMRM*, II, 2356; Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, pp. 152, 154, 292 (231); *Archiv Orientální*, III (1931), pp. 138 f.; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXII (1923-4), pp. 117 f.; Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, I, p. 146 (569).

Mithraic affinities are also apparent on an interesting altar [4] discovered in 1837 in digging a drain near the north-east angle of the Roman fort at Whitley Castle, some 10 miles south of Hadrian's Wall. The altar, which was set in a socket in a large slab supported by four pillars about a foot high [5], is dedicated to Apollo [6] and has sculptured panels on all four sides of the capital. That on the front represents Apollo Citharoedus, that on the right Apollo as Sol, with radiate crown and holding a whip in his left hand, and that on the left perhaps Apollo in his local aspect of Apollo-Maponus, receiving a libation offered by a second figure (? the dedicator) who stands before him [7]. The fourth panel on the back shows a central figure standing on a raised base and flanked by two torchbearers in the attitudes of Cautes and Cautopates, indicating an identification of Apollo with Mithras [1]. There are indeed few parallels for the use of Mithraic iconography on monuments not directly connected with the cult, but the circumstances of the find do not immediately suggest that this altar had stood in a Mithraeum.

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[1] *Arch.*, XC (1944), pp. 121-2, fig. 20 (1, 1a); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 190 (157), pl. 190; *CIMRM*, I, 828. For further instances of Mithraic motifs on pottery see *CIMRM*, II, 908c (1-2); *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, V (1960-1), pp. 67-72, particularly pp. 68-9 (no. 58, 289), pl. 16 (1-4); *Museen in Köln, Bulletin*, Okt. 1962; Dez. 1963. A sherd of samian ware with a figure in a lion mask (Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types*, 550) is in the Guildhall Museum, London.

[2] *Arch.*, XC (1944), pp. 81f.

[3] *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, pp. 71-5, 68-71 (pp. 89-95, 85-8).

[4] Hodgson, *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 432; *LS*, 738; *CIL*, VII, 309; *MMM*, II, 318, Inscr. 488; *CIMRM*, II, 837B; *JRS*, XXXIII (1943), pp. 36-8, 77-8, pl. II—full discussion by Wright.

[5] A coin was found on top of each of the pillars.

[6] D[E]O | APO[LLI]N[I] G |. . . . . .]IVS |. . . . . | . C[O]H(ORS) [II] NE[R](VIORVM). The reading is that of Wright (*loc. cit.*).

[7] Like the figure of Apollo as Sol, this panel may perhaps owe something to a Mithraic type, being not unlike certain representations of Sol and Mithras.

Two other altars from sites on the Wall have also been connected with Mithraism, although in neither case can the attribution be regarded as satisfactory. The inscription on that from Byker Bridge, Newcastle (*PONS AELIVS*) [2], is so worn that only the name and priestly office of the dedicator can be distinguished with certainty, and the restoration of the actual dedication as Mithraic is hardly justified. The altar from Wallsend (*SEGEDVNVM*) [3] was found near the south-west corner of the fort some time before 1851, lying on the ground surrounded by twelve stones about a foot high arranged in a circle [4]. It is uninscribed and pierced through the centre of the die by a circular hole, 6 inches in diameter, with twelve incised lines radiating from it. This feature has been interpreted as a rayed sun, but no close parallel is known among Mithraic monuments, and the possibility of later mutilation cannot be discounted [5].

What may perhaps have been a statue of Ahriman was found a few miles east of Caerwent (*VENTA SILVRVM*) some time before 1910. Mentioned only in a footnote [6], it is described as "A stone effigy of the Romano British period, with remains of a serpent coiled round the bust", the context suggesting, however, that the writer regarded it as a figure of Hygieia.

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[1] Compare the Rudchester dedication *Soli Apollini aniceto* (above p. 25, n.8).

[2] *AA*, XI (1886), pp. 120-1; *EE*, VII, 1007; Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, p. 25 (66); NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XIII, p. 546 (10): IVL(IVS) MAX|IMVS SAC(ERDOS) | D(EO) DI[. . . |OI[. . . |PE[. . . | QV[. . . | II[. . .

[3] *LS*, 3; NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, XIII, p. 542 (4).

[4] Coins were found under several of the stones and under the altar itself. For a possible explanation of the arrangement of the stones as discovered *cf. Surtees Soc.*, XL (1861), p. 197; *Denham Tracts*, II, p. 307—and note also De Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons*, p. 123.

[5] Bruce (*LS*, p. 12) remarks on "the rough workmanship" of the perforation and suggests that it may be of later date than the rest of the altar. *Cf.* also Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, p. 56 (200).

[6] *Arch.*, LXII (1910), p. 6, n. from p. 5.

Among doubtful pieces which seem likely to represent Attis rather than Mithras may be mentioned a small bronze head with Phrygian cap from Mildenhall, Suffolk [1]), another from Colchester (*CAMVLODVNVM*) [2]), and a jet plaque with the upper half of a figure in Phrygian dress from the villa site at Whitton, near Ipswich, Suffolk [3]). There are also a few figures described as Cautopates which in fact conform more closely to the type of the mourning Attis as represented by a relief from The Mount at York [4]).

The best known of these is a damaged ragstone figure in high relief found in Drury Lane, London [5]), an area well outside the Roman city which there is reason to suppose served as a burial ground [6]), but where the existence of a Mithraeum is very unlikely. The figure, whose legs are not crossed in the typical stance of a dadophorus, leans heavily upon a long irregular object, possibly supported in both hands [7]), and seems from its attitude and attire to be none other than a mourning Attis. The object supported in the hands is, however, represented as a knobbly stick or branch and the face, now destroyed, appears to have been bearded, details which together suggest that an alternative attribution must be sought [8]). A second figure, carved in high relief on a red sandstone block was found in a burial area in Hulme, Manchester (*MAMVCIVM*) in 1821 [9]). Standing cross-legged, he supports his head with his left hand, and rests his elbow upon his right, in which he holds a staff-like object. This object is clearly curved at the base, and is therefore not a torch but a *pedum*, thus indicating that the figure is in fact a mourning Attis. A third sculpture described as "a naked figure of a boy leaning upon a wand and standing in an alcove" was found in a well at Wroxeter (*VIROCONIVM*) in 1730 [1]. It appears to have been lost since about 1879 but was in all probability an Attis. The similar reliefs from Chester have already been discussed [2].

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[1]) See below p. 102. A small bronze figure of Mithras would be unusual, but *cf. CIMRM*, I, 595; II, 1296, 2160.

[2]) See below p. 102.

[3]) See below pp. 102-3.

[4]) See below p. 103.

[5]) RCHM, *Roman London*, pl. 14; *London in Roman Times*, p. 45, pl. XVI (B); *CIMRM*, II, 826 B (confused with the figure of Attis from Bevis Marks, *cf.* below p. 100).

[6]) *Cf. London in Roman Times*, p. 46, pl. XVIII.

[7]) The left arm is broken away, but the hand is visible on the object just below waist level; the right hand, now lost, may have rested on it higher up.

[8]) The figure may perhaps be Silvanus, as suggested on the museum label, though it is also possible that, in spite of the anomalies, it was sepulchral in character.

[9]) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1821, pt. I, p. 257; *Trans. Lancashire & Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, XVII (1899), p. 116, pl. opp.; Bruton, *The Roman Fort at Manchester*, pp. 34 f., pl. 12 (1).

A large inscribed tablet and some fragments of relief found at Corbridge (*CORSTOPITVM*) have also been thought to be Mithraic although a different interpretation is now accepted for each. The tablet [3], dedicated to Sol Invictus, is closely dated to about A.D. 162 and therefore belongs to the period before the cult was assimilated to that of Mithras, while the reliefs, parts of a frieze and a metope, have been shown to have belonged to a Dolichenum [4].

There remain two reliefs and three [5] inscriptions noted by Cumont who, however, classes them as doubtful. The relief from Chesters (*CILVRNVM*) [6], also attributed to the cult of Cybele [7], was more simply explained by Bruce [8] as "a scene in the amphitheatre", and the inscription on an altar from the same site [9] does not justify a Mithraic attribution. Two other inscriptions, found at Old Carlisle (*OLENACVM*) [10] and Hexham [11] are also dubiously restored, and the triangular relief from Chesterholm (*VINDOLANDA*) [12] is clearly not Mithraic.

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[1] *Trans. Shropshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, II (1879), p. 328.

[2] See above pp. 44-5, below pp. 103-4.

[3] *CIMRM*, I-II, 870. See below p. 106.

[4] See below pp. 58-9.

[5] A fourth, from Birdoswald, has already been mentioned (above p. 39, n. 7).

[6] *MMM*, II, 319.

[7] See below p. 99.

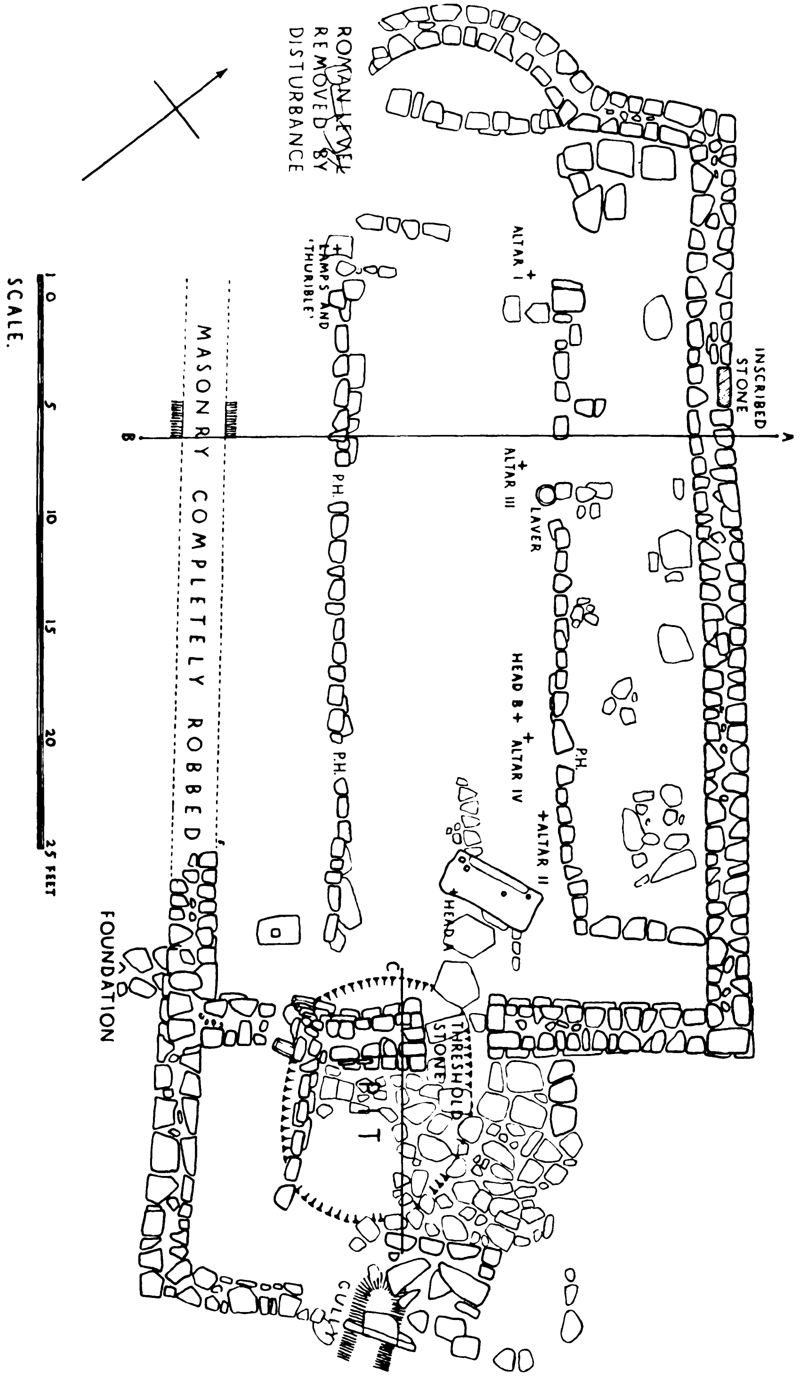
[8] *LS*, 150.

[9] *CIL*, VII, 579; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 577.

[10] *CIL*, VII, 349; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 575.

[11] *CIL*, VII, 481; *MMM*, II, Inscr. 576.

[12] *MMM*, II, 320. See below p. 94.


ROMAN LEVEL REMOVED BY DISTURBANCE
INSCRIBED STONE
A
B
ALTAR I
LAMPS AND 'THURIBLE'
MASONRY COMPLETELY ROBBED
P.H.
ALTAR III
LAVER
HEAD B
ALTAR IV
ALTAR II
HEAD A
THRESHOLD STONE
C
PIT
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FOUNDATION
SCALE.
0
5
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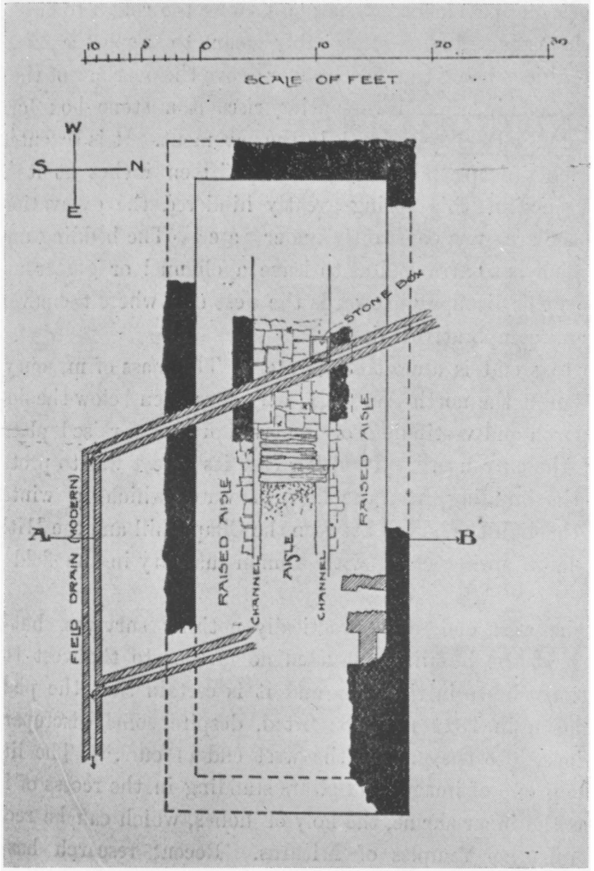
25 FEET

Fig. 1. Rudchester Mithraeum.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SCALE OF FEET
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CHANNEL
RAISED AISLE
FIELD DRAIN (MODERN)
A
B

Fig. 3. Housesteads Mithraeum: Bosanquet's plan (1898).

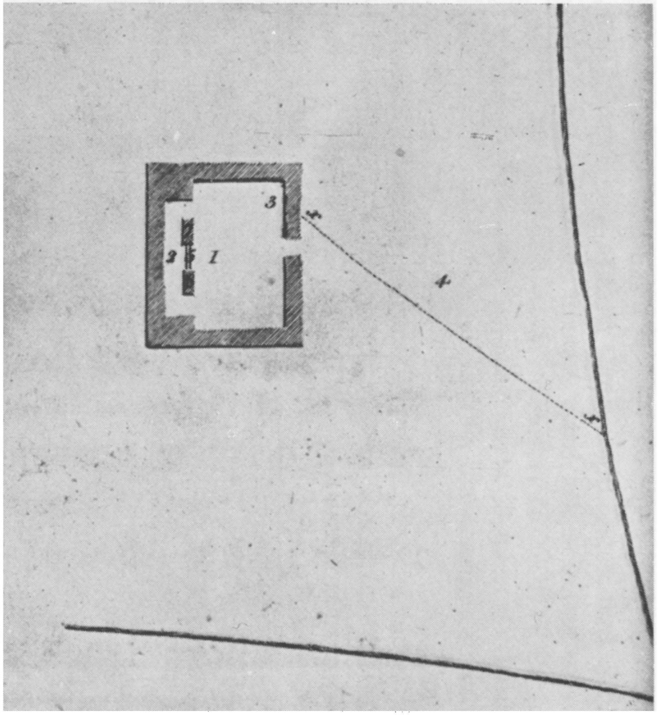

Fig. 2. Housesteads Mithraeum: Hodgson's original sketch (1822).

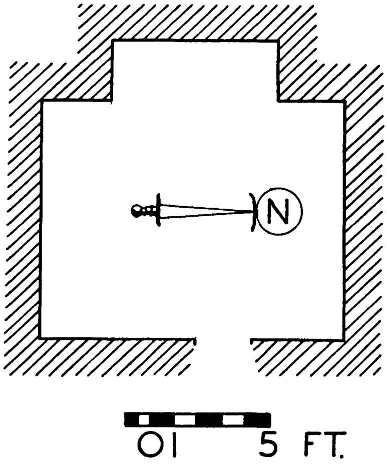

Fig. 4. Housesteads Mithraeum: Hodgson's "little cell" redrawn to scale from his measurements.

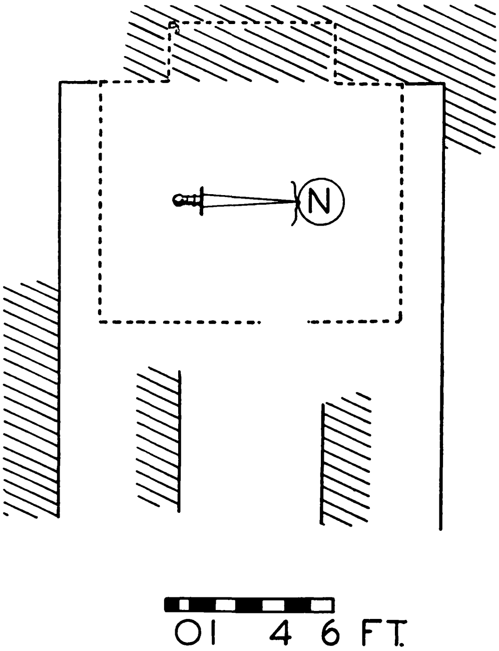

Fig. 5. Housesteads Mithraeum: the "little cell" superimposed upon Bosanquet's plan.

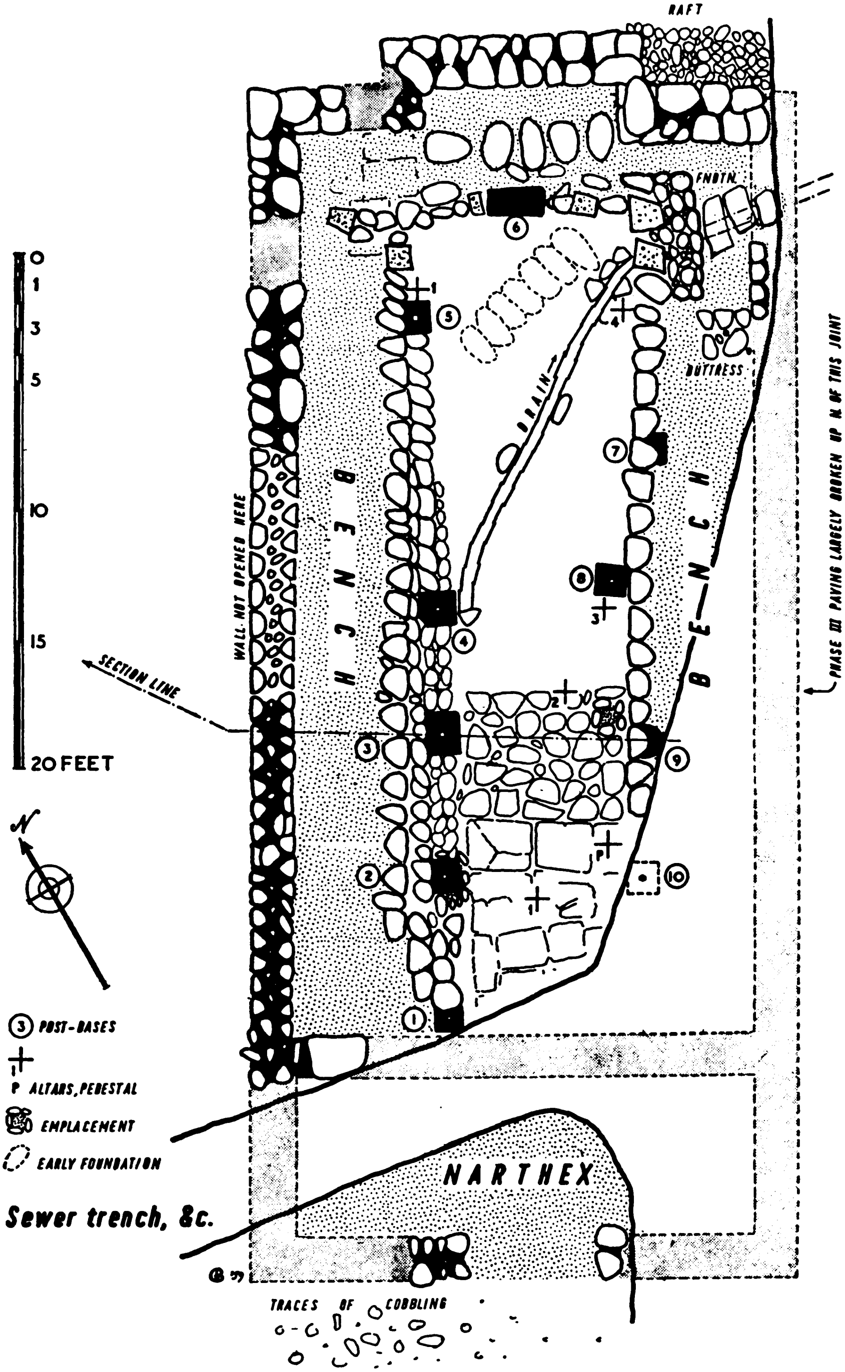
RAFT
FNDTN.
BUTTRESS
DRAIN
BENCH
BENCH
WALL NOT OPENED HERE
PHASE III PAVING LARGELY BROKEN UP N. OF THIS JOINT
SECTION LINE
NARTHEX
TRACES OF COBBLING
0
1
3
5
10
15
20 FEET
N
③ POST-BASES
P ALTARS, PEDESTAL
EMPLACEMENT
EARLY FOUNDATION
Sewer trench, &c.
①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
⑦
⑧
⑨
⑩

Fig. 6. Caernarvon Mithraeum.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CULT OF JUPITER DOLICHENUS

The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus appears, like that of Mithras, to have been chiefly confined to the military areas of Britain, and, although in these areas it undoubtedly enjoyed as great a popularity as the Persian cult, the evidence so far recorded is scarcely comparable in wealth and interest. That relatively few Dolichene sanctuaries have been recognised and excavated throughout the Roman Empire as a whole has been remarked by Merlat 1), and in this respect the British province is certainly no exception. Not a single temple has as yet been located, although the existence of two, if not three, is indicated by dedicatory inscriptions 2), and the presence of an elaborate shrine at Corbridge may be inferred from the various architectural fragments identified by Prof. Richmond 3). Apart from these fragments there are only two pieces of sculpture which may with certainty be attributed to the cult, the majority of the recorded monuments being altars and inscribed stones of which not a few are now missing. As a consequence of its primarily military appeal, the cult is largely concentrated in the north, on Hadrian's Wall and in the area adjacent to it, and it is, moreover, interesting that there are indications of iron working in the neighbourhood of several of the sites at which the worship of Dolichenus has been noted. Such a correlation is indeed no cause for surprise in view of the origins and character of the god, but it is none the less notable that this was already appreciated by antiquaries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries such as Gibson and Horsley.

The most impressive and varied collection of Dolichene material yet found in Britain is undoubtedly that from the military site at Corbridge (*CORSTOPITVM*), first a fort and later a supply-

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1) Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, p. 129; for such temples as have in fact been found *cf.* pp. 129-67.

2) See below pp. 61-2.

3) See below pp. 58-60.

base, just south of Hadrian's Wall on Dere Street, where the establishment of an important iron working depot "gave the cult a special local appeal and almost makes its presence inevitable" [1]. The existence of the worship of Dolichenus on the site has indeed been known for some time through the discovery of a well known altar, but the recent identification of part of a statue of the god, and the recognition of fragments of a frieze, two panels or metopes, and a pediment as belonging to "a small and elaborate shrine" [2] have provided further striking evidence of its popularity.

The altar [3] (Pl. XIII) was found in 1910 forming part of the kerb of a street dating to A.D. 369, though the piece itself, dedicated by a centurion of the Sixth Legion, must necessarily be earlier than the fourth century [4]. Three feet in height, the altar is in a good state of preservation and the sculptured figures on either side of the die are readily identifiable. To the right a Genius, wearing a mural crown and bearing a *cornucopiae* stands beside an altar over which he pours a libation, while on the left side is a walking Cupid who carries a bill-hook in his raised right hand and a bunch of grapes in his left [5]. Above, in the centre of each bolster, is a human face, and the ends of the bolsters on the front were further decorated, though the details are no longer discernible.

The dedication of the altar, to Jupiter Dolichenus, Caelestis Brigantia and Salus [6], is an interesting example of "the liberal attraction of other deities which was a feature of the Dolichene cult" 1). In this case Brigantia, tutelary goddess of the Brigantes, the people of the Pennine area 2), is by the epithet Caelestis 3) identified as a local aspect of Juno Caelestis or Dea Syria, no doubt in compliment to the Severan dynasty, and so implicitly equated with the consort of Jupiter Dolichenus 4). She is also as a tutelary goddess by nature endowed with powers of healing 5), and the further association in the dedication of Salus as goddess of personal well-being is thus particularly appropriate 6). The name of the dedicator, Apol(l)inaris, appears to indicate a Graeco-oriental origin 7), and might perhaps account for the assimilation of Brigantia with the eastern Juno Caelestis, were the inscription in fact a unity. As it is, however, the last three lines, consisting of the dedicator's name and rank and the words *iussu dei* 8), are cut in smaller letters on top of what is clearly a deliberate erasure and it is impossible to tell whether this represents a mere correction of "initial bungling" or a subsequent rededication of the altar.

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[1] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 180.

[2] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 196, and *cf.* pp. 179-96.

[3] *AA*, VII (1911), pp. 144, 176 f., pl. II; *PSA*, XXIII (1909-11), p. 486, pl. opp.; *EE*, IX, 1141; *AJ*, XCVIII (1941), pp. 42 f., pl. II; *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 193-6, pl. X (H); *Rép.*, 273.

[4] The office of centurion, held by the dedicator, had ceased to exist by the fourth century (*AA*, XXI (1943), p. 193, and *cf. Rép.*, p. 267, n. 2).

[5] For some observations on these figures see Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, p. 107; *Rép.*, p. 267. Dolichenus, Caelestis Brigantia and Salus are each in some degree associated with universal or personal prosperity, and both the Genius and the Cupid are therefore generally appropriate as symbols of abundance. The Genius is, however, particularly relevant to Brigantia as a local goddess, while of the three it is perhaps Salus who is most closely connected with the fruits of the harvest represented by the Cupid.

[6] IOVI AETERNO | DOLICHENO | ET CAELESTI | BRIGANTIAE | ET SALVTI | C. IVLIVS AP|OLINARIS Ɔ | LEG(IONIS) VI IVSS(V) DEI.

The fragment of statuary 9) "rescued .... from the hedge close to the Museum" at Corbridge had also been re-employed, "as part of a well-worn threshold", although where on the site, and at what period, is as yet unknown. The piece, shattered even before its secondary use, preserves the right hind quarters and belly of a standing bull, which "belongs definitely to the Dolichene type"

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1) *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 194, where the practical motive is underlined.

2) Numerically the largest tribe in Britain, extending over north and west Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland and Co. Durham.

3) Compare the syncretistic figure of Brigantia from Birrens, where the identification is indicated by the aniconic stone of Juno Caelestis (*AJ*, XCVIII (1941), pp. 36-61, particularly pp. 49 f., pl. I; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 157 (80), pl. 77).

4) Compare the well known metrical dedication from Carvoran (below pp. 105-6).

5) For Jupiter Dolichenus as a god of healing see Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, pp. 104 f.

6) *Cf.* Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, p. 105, n. 4; *Rép.*, pp. 266-7; *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 195-6; *AJ*, XCVIII (1941), p. 46. For dedications *pro salute* see *Rép.*, p. 407.

7) *Rép.*, p. 267, n. 3. For the spelling compare the tombstone of Ulpius Apolinaris from Carlisle (*CIL*, VII, 931).

8) For the reading see *JRS*, XXXIII (1943), p. 78, n. 4, and for the formula Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, p. 208; *Rép.*, p. 406.

9) *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 191-2, pl. VIII (3).

and is of a size to have carried a figure of the god of about two-thirds life size. Impressive even in its present state, the sculpture cannot be precisely dated, but it is in any event not later than the early fourth century, which may indeed have been the period of its adaptation as a threshold.

Of the architectural fragments, the most significant are the four adjoining portions of a frieze, three of which [1], formerly known as "The Apotheosis", were discovered in 1908 "in or on the loading-platform of the west granary" [2], and the fourth in 1938-9 "in workshop III of the west military compound, where it was used face downwards as a paving-stone in the Constantian floor" [3]. As now rejoined[4] (Pl. XIV), the fragments, in flat relief and probably the work of a native or north-Gaulish sculptor, are seen to belong to an elaborate Dolichene composition, although the precise reconstruction of the scene or scenes of which they formed a part is problematic [5]. On the left, a youthful rider, evidently Sol, with radiate crown and mounted on a winged horse, approaches an imposing columnar hall of L-shaped plan within which, beside his horse, stands one of the Dioscuri in cloak and Phrygian cap and lightly leaning upon a lance. Behind the building, to the right, is a large tree, possibly a mere feature of the landscape, but which may serve to indicate a break between two separate scenes, and beyond this is a nude male figure, probably Apollo. It is thus uncertain whether the surviving elements belong to one scene or two, but in either case it seems reasonable to assume that the figures of Sol and the Dioscurus were balanced, whether to left or right, by corresponding figures of Luna and the twin Dioscurus, with, in a central position, Jupiter Dolichenus himself, attended perhaps by other deities [6]. The condition of the fragments indicates that the frieze from which they come was set in a sheltered position [1]), and the height of 1 foot 9½ inches is consistent with an entablature. The overall length of the existing portion is 5 feet 2 inches, but the scene or scenes cannot originally have measured much less than 15 feet.

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[1] *Cf. JRS*, II (1912), pp. 135-8, fig. 11.

[2] *AA*, V (1909), pp. 311-13, fig. 2; XXI (1943), p. 181.

[3] *AA*, XVII (1940), p. 108; XXI (1943), p. 181.

[4] *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 181-6, pl. VII (3); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 164 (92), pl. 95.

[5] For two different interpretations see the discussions cited in the previous note.

[6] *Cf. AA*, XXI (1943), p. 185. The figure of Juno Regina may also have accompanied that of her consort, or, if the composition was in fact divided, have occupied a corresponding position in the adjacent scene.

The two panels or metopes were also found in 1908, the three fragments of one "on site xii, where they had been built into an internal cross-wall, ... of the early fourth century" [2]), the other "serving as fourth-century flooring in the east granary" [3]). The former, originally 23¾ inches in height and some 23 inches wide, but now lacking a strip about 4 inches wide down the centre, shows one of the Dioscuri, nude except for a cloak and Phrygian cap, and holding his horse which faces to the right. The figures are cut in "abrupt high relief", and the details of his cloak and of the horse's head are deeply incised, no doubt to receive paint [4]). The latter, an apparently matching panel, 20½ inches high and 22 inches wide and of similar technique, is entirely filled by a draped bust of Sol, large and startling, his radiate head encircled by a nimbus and his whip indicated above his left shoulder [5]). That these two pieces formed part of a series can scarcely be doubted, and the original existence of panels with a parallel bust of Luna and a figure of the second of the Dioscuri may reasonably be inferred.

The larger of the two small fragments, identified as belonging to a pediment [6]), was discovered in 1907 during excavation of site x [7]). It preserves part of the original edge, with its border of swags suspended from much foreshortened *bucrania*, within which is the head of a winged horse, facing to the left, the style of carving being essentially similar to that of the Dioscurus panel [8]). On the smaller fragment [1], also from an edge, there remain only part of a swag and a somewhat better proportioned *bucranium*, the larger size of both suggesting that the piece is from lower down the pediment in which "the winged horse will have occupied a position towards the top". That the horse was other than a minor element in the composition is, however, unlikely, and its presence as a subordinate figure would suit a representation of the Dolichene firmament.

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[1]) *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 185, n. 185. The fragments are 4 inches thick.

[2]) *AA*, V (1909), pp. 343-4, fig. 11; XXI (1943), pp. 186-7, pl. VII (1).

[3]) *AA*, V (1909), pp. 321-2, fig. 5; XXI (1943), pp. 187-8, pl. VII (2).

[4]) *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 186.

[5]) The piece, once thought to be Mithraic, is not unlike a relief found on the Esquiline (*CIMRM*, I, 354). For the nimbus and rays compare also the painted head of Sol in the Mithraeum at Marino (*ILN*, 23 Feb. 1963, p. 262, fig. 5).

[6]) *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 189-91, pl. VIII (1, 2).

[7]) *AA*, V (1909), pp. 313, 343-4.

[8]) See above n. 4.

The apparent stylistic unity of the pediment and metopes, and the fact that both the latter and the fragments of the frieze were re-used as building material in the early fourth century suggest that all three elements belonged to a shrine of Dolichenus wrecked in the destruction of A.D. 297. The site of such a shrine cannot now be identified, but it is likely to have been within one of the sacred enclaves deliberately planned in the re-entrant angles at the north-east and north-west corners respectively of the two military compounds and ultimately extending beyond them [2]. While the official state cults such as those of Jupiter, Victoria and a Genius Cohortis were accommodated within the actual compounds "mostly associated with the *principia* and *scholae* .... and regulated by an official calendar of observances" [3], those adopted by the military units themselves "and evidently sanctioned by authority without being accorded official standing" [4] were established in these enclaves set apart to receive them in the original planning of the site [5], and in this respect Corbridge provides an interesting illustration, unique in Britain, of the attitude of the Roman army towards the various unofficial cults to which its members were attached.

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[1] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 190. The provenance of the piece and the date at which it was found are not indicated.

[2] *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 136-49. None of the temple *podia* so far revealed has been identified with any specific cult.

[3] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 149.

[4] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 147.

[5] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 146. "The kernel of this plan ..... was a main piazza, isolated from the principal through traffic lines. It was bordered on the north by monumental utilitarian buildings, comprising an enormous storehouse, two large granaries and a fountain-head, the last-named feature emphasising the social aspect of the place. The south side was occupied partly by the compounds and partly by the temples, which completed the group of monumental buildings and closed the east end of the piazza, making of it a veritable *forum*".

The existence of two other temples of Jupiter Dolichenus in the region of Hadrian's Wall is indicated by inscriptions found during the eighteenth century, although in neither case have any structural remains as yet been identified. The first of these, a fragment of an altar of coarse red sandstone, from Bewcastle (*BANNA*), an outpost fort about 6 miles north of the Wall from Birdoswald in an area where slag from Roman iron working has been noticed [1]), apparently records the foundation or rebuilding of a temple. First noted by Horsley [2]) who "was told of another stone found at this place, with TEMPLVM distinctly upon it", the stone was evidently that rediscovered by the Rev. Maughan in 1852 "in the wall in the Bewcastle Barn" [3]). The inscription is recorded by Bruce [4]), but the piece was again lost and cannot now be traced. The second dedication, found sometime before 1771 at Old Penrith (*VOREDA*) [5]), some 12 miles to the south of Carlisle, and now also missing, commemorates the restoration of a shrine by a prefect of the *Cohors II Gallorum Equitata* [6]). The form of the inscription is taken by Merlat to indicate a date not earlier than the end of the second century for the restoration [7]), and the original foundation may therefore, as he suggests, belong to the middle of the same century [8]).

A third inscription [9]) commemorating the restoration of a temple, found, re-used as a flooring slab, in the fort at Ribchester (*BREMETENNACVM VETERANORVM*) in 1811 1), may also refer to a shrine of Dolichenus, though the upper part of the slab is now missing and with it the name of the deity. The occurrence of the phrase *ex responsu* 2) suggests, however, that the dedication was in fact to Jupiter Dolichenus and the association of the tablet with Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, with a closer dating to A.D. 225-35 3), corresponds to the period at which the cult enjoyed its greatest popularity 4).

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[1]) *LS*, p. 378.

[2]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 271.

[3]) *AJ*, XI (1854), pp. 129-30.

[4]) *LS*, 731; *CIL*, VII, 976; *Trans.C.&W.*, XXII (1922), p. 183; *Rép.*, 280: I.O.M. | DOLICHENO TEMPLVM A SO[LO]| . . . . .] PRO S[. . . . . Merlat suggests *pro s[alute . . .]*, but *pro s[e et suis . . .]* is perhaps more probable.

[5]) Also referred to as Plumpton Wall, but see *JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189.

[6]) *LS*, 939; *CIL*, VII, 316; *Trans.C.&W.*, XIII (1913), p. 184 (3); *Rép.*, 270: IN H(ONOREM) D(OMVS) D(IVINAE) I.O.M. D(OLICHENO) | [TEMPLVM] VETVSTATE CO[NLAPSVM] | AVREL[I]VS AT[TIANVS] | [PRAEF(ECTVS) C]OH(ORTIS) II [GAL(LORVM) RESTITVIT]. For the *Cohors II Gallorum cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, IV, col. 289; Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, pp. 148, 174.

[7]) *Rép.*, p. 264, n. 3. Richmond (*JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189) suggests that the restoration may have followed the disaster of A.D. 197.

[8]) The earliest record of the *Cohors II Gallorum* in Britain is dated to A.D. 146.

[9]) *CIL*, VII, 222; *JRS*, XXXV (1945), pp. 18 f., fig. 3: . . . . . . MATR]IS D(OMINI) N(OSTRI) ET CASTR(ORVM) SV[B CVRA] | VAL. CRES-

Apart from Corbridge only two 5) other sites have so far yielded remains of Dolichene sculpture, the finds from Croy Hill 6), about

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CENTIS FVLVIANI LEG(ATI) EIVS PR(O) [PR(AETORE)] | T. FLORIDI(VS) NATALIS Ↄ LEG(IONIS) PRAEP(OSITVS) N(VMERI) ET REGI[ONIS] | TEMPLVM A SOLO EX RESPONSV [RE]|STITVIT ET DEDICAVIT. For the titles of the dedicator see *JRS*, XXXV (1945), pp. 20 f.

1) Whitaker, *History of Richmondshire*, II, p. 459; *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancashire & Cheshire*, LIV (1904), p. 198. As Richmond points out (*JRS*, XXXV (1945), p. 19) the dedication cannot belong to the fort, and its presence there must be the result of secondary use as building material.

2) The phrase has no exact parallel among Dolichene inscriptions. For comparable expressions see *Rép.*, p. 406.

3) *JRS*, XXXV (1945), p. 24.

4) *Cf.* Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, p. 24.

5) A number of representations of the Dioscuri may also be of Dolichene origin (*cf.* above pp. 58-9), though only one (A) comes from a site where other Dolichene material has been found, and two (D, E) may well be Mithraic. They are:

A) A block, now lost, from Risingham (*HABITANCVM*), with what appears to be one of the Dioscuri on one face, and three figures, described as Aesculapius, Telesphorus and Hygieia, on the other (Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, pp. 238-9, XCII).

B) A block, now lost, from York (*EBVRACVM*), with, on the right, a youth facing a (?) horse in a building, and, on the left, a standing figure before an altar and, perhaps, a shrine (Hargrove, *History of York*, 1818, III, p. 574; RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 121 (69)).

C) A second block from York, with a youth leading a horse, and, on the right, a tree, probably a separating motif (RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 132 (128), pl. 64).

D) A fragment of a relief from Lanchester (*LONGOVICIVM*), with one of the Dioscuri (*LS*, 714; *JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189; and *cf.* above p. 42).

E) A relief from Walbrook, London (*LONDINIVM*), with one of the Dioscuri (*cf.* above p. 16).

F) A fragment of a relief from Leicester (*RATAE CORITANORVM*), with the upper part of a figure of one of the Dioscuri, probably the right hand portion of a triptych (Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, pp. 159-60).

6) *PSA Scot.*, LXVI (1931-2), pp. 268-76, figs. 15, 18; Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2nd ed., pp. 269, 415-16, pl. XLVII (1); *Rép.*, 283.

half way along the Antonine Wall, being of additional interest as marking the northernmost point in the Empire at which the cult has yet been recorded. Here in 1931 parts of an inscribed relief of Dolichenus and his consort were discovered at a depth of some 4 feet in a short ditch outside the north-east corner of the fort 1), the two fragments, of reddish sandstone and about 7¾ inches thick, having diagonal broaching on the back which suggests that they had originally been fixed to the wall of a building. The larger fragment, 1 foot 8 inches by 10½ inches, is from the right hand edge of the slab and preserves the ends of the first two lines of the framed inscription 2), above which survives a portion of the relief showing the front legs and hinder part of a cow or heifer facing to the left and apparently standing within an *aedicula* 3). The smaller, only 4⅝ inches by 9⅝ inches, bears the torso of a male figure clad in a tunic fastened by a girdle from which hang loose leather flaps, and is presumably from the left hand end of the relief, the whole, when complete, having evidently depicted the familar type of Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull with, opposite him, his consort Juno Regina similarly mounted upon a corresponding animal.

The other sculpture, from Chesters (*CILVRNVM*), is a headless figure of Juno Regina justly famous for its excellent workmanship and formerly known as the "Cybele of Chesters" 4) (Pl. XV). The piece was discovered by Dr Lingard in 1807 5) forming part of the

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1) The piece had evidently come from the *principia*, and is presumably to be dated to the latter half of the second century, i.e. to the period between the construction of the Antonine Wall in A.D. 142-3 and its abandonment at the end of the century. *Cf.* Robertson, *The Antonine Wall*, pp. 7, 37.

2) [I.O.M. DOLIC]HENO | . . . .]L |. Merlat suggests [*pro sa*]*l*(*ute*). The inscription was probably a fairly long one (*cf. PSA Scot.*, LXVI (1931-2), p. 275), and may have been set up by a member of the Sixth Legion, a vexillation of which is the only unit so far known to have been connected with Croy Hill (*ibid.*, p. 266).

3) *Cf. Rép.*, 143, pl. XI (3).

4) *LS*, 149; Budge, *An Account of the Roman Antiquities preserved in the Museum at Chesters*, p. 300 (14); *Rép.*, 276.

5) "In a dry wall we found a wonderful fellow, a flamen Dialis, in a tunic, the drapery very beautiful, bound with a girdle, standing on a four-footed animal, without a head, the figure and animal 5 feet high—breadth over the arms 20 inches" (*AA*, VI (1929), p. 148, quoting Dr Lingard's MS. notes, now in the possession of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries).

wall of a plantation near the south-west angle of the fort, and was noted, but not identified, by the Rev. John Hodgson in 1810 [1]. Hodgson in fact illustrates three pieces, the body of the goddess, broken off at the shins, the heifer on which she stands [2], and a flat base on which are four hooves, two crushing a serpent. The base does not, however, belong to the statue of the goddess with which it was found, but may well be all that remains of a complementary figure of Jupiter Dolichenus [3]. The goddess, as she is now preserved, with the break at the shins repaired, is some 5 feet 3 inches in height and wears a long-sleeved tunic reaching to her feet and caught at the waist by a knotted girdle. A broad, scarf-like garment bordered with bands of a running wave design is draped around her thighs and fastened at the back, and an impression of movement is given by the line of the skirt drapery, which flows slightly to the right, as though caught by the wind. The piece is executed in a British stone but the quality of the work is perhaps such as to suggest the hand of "an immigrant Syrian sculptor" [4].

The identification of Emperors and their consorts with their chosen deities is well known, and Prof. Richmond has pointed out [5] that at Carnuntum statues apparently of Severus Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea in the guise of Dolichenus and Juno Regina were found within the *principia* [6]. The wave design on the border of the cloak worn by the Juno Regina of Carnuntum is, moreover, identical with that on the tunic of the Chesters figure, and the two, though differently draped, are essentially the same garment and of eastern style. Both pieces can indeed be "recognised as wearing the Imperial mantle, the most obvious pictorial means of equating the Empress with the goddess" [7], and it therefore seems reasonable to

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1) Hodgson, *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 181.

2) For the identification of the animal see Richmond in *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948*, ed. Gordon, p. 47.

3) *Cf. Syria*, I (1920), p. 187, n. 2. Bosanquet thought he had "discovered a torso of the god among some stones at Chesters that had been thrown aside as useless" (*PSA Scot.*, LXVI (1931-2), p. 276, n. 4).

4) Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 140-1 (35), pl. 41.

5) Richmond in *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948*, ed. Gordon, p. 50.

6) Swoboda, *Carnuntum*, 1953, p. 108, pl. XIV (2).

7) Richmond in *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948*, ed. Gordon, p. 51.

interpret the Chesters figure as a similar portrayal of Julia Mamaea as the divine consort of Dolichenus.

Thus dated [1]), the statue would appear to be associated with the important renovations carried out at Chesters at the beginning of the third decade of the third century and recorded in a large inscription which mentions Elagabalus and Severus Alexander [2]), and to the same period may also perhaps be dated two inscribed fragments of a Dolichene dedication found during the excavation of the buildings in the eastern part of the fort in 1884. These fragments come from either end of a slab, about 3 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 10 inches high [3]), erected for the welfare of two unnamed Emperors, and the lettering belongs to the early third century, the likely alternatives being therefore Elagabalus and Severus Alexander or Septimius Severus and Caracalla [4]).

Of the remaining monuments of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, the majority are altars or inscribed stones, and of these all but one come from the north of England [5]). The most northerly is an altar found in the wall of a house at Risingham (*HABITANCVM*)[6]), about 12 miles beyond Hadrian's Wall on Dere Street, and close to the Redesdale deposits of iron ore worked to supply the military workshops at Corbridge 1), which thus provides a further illustration of the close connection between Dolichenus and iron working. Recorded as early as 1702 2), the piece was later seen by Horsley 3), trimmed for use as a building stone "in the door-way of an outhouse, turned upside down", and is now unfortunately lost. Also north of the Wall, at Birrens (*BLATOBVLGIVM*) 4), an outpost fort beyond the Solway, excavations undertaken in 1895 5) produced a fragment of a small votive slab 6) the principal interest of which lies in the apparently Gallic name of the dedicator, Magunna 7), while from Netherby (*CASTRA EXPLORATORVM*), another outpost on the Esk between Birrens and the Wall, comes a small altar, found sometime before the end of the eighteenth century, with a very indistinct inscription 8) which is perhaps to be interpreted as a dedication to Dolichenus 9).

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[1]) The statue appears to have survived until the devastation of the Wall in A.D. 296. In the restorations of A.D. 297 it was used as a threshold, but face downwards, so that the front suffered no further damage until the destruction of A.D. 367, when it was subjected to burning.

[2]) *LS*, 121; *CIL*, VII, 585; *AA*, XVI (1939), pp. 244-6. Another inscription from Chesters (*LS*, 943; *EE*, III, 100) seems also to refer to these two Emperors.

[3]) A narrow strip from the centre and the right hand bottom corner are missing.

[4]) Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., pp. 104-5; *AA*, XIII (1889), p. 357; *AJ*, XLVII (1890), pp. 260-1; *EE*, VII, 1016; *Rép.*, 275: I.O.[M.] DOL(ICHENO) | PRO SAL(VTE) | [AV]GG. NN. | GAL(ERIVS) VER[. . . . . . . The name is presumably Verecundus.

[5]) A fragment of an inscribed group of Jupiter Dolichenus upon a bull, now in the British Museum, is included among British monuments by both Kan (*Juppiter Dolichenus*, 229) and Merlat (*Rép.*, 268), the latter supposing it to have come from the north of England. The material is, however, Parian marble, and a British origin is therefore highly improbable (*cf. JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189).

[6]) *LS*, 590; *CIL*, VII, 991; *Rép.*, 281; Richmond, *Romans in Redesdale*, p. 132 (10): [I.O.M.] DOLOCHENO | C. IVL(IVS) PVBL(ILIVS) | PIVS

A fine altar from Benwell (*CONDERCVM*)10), the third fort on the Wall and a little over two miles from Newcastle, was discovered

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TRIB(VNVS) | V.S.L.M. The same tribune dedicated an altar to Mars Victor (Richmond, *op. cit.*, p. 134 (16)).

1) *LS*, p. 308; Richmond, *Roman Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 159.

2) *Philosophical Transactions*, XXIII (1702), p. 1132, pl. opp., and *cf.* Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gibson 1722, II, p. 1086.

3) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 236, LXXXV.

4) For the syncretistic figure of Caelestis Brigantia from Birrens see above p. 57, n. 3.

5) *PSA Scot.*, XXX (1895-6), pp. 127-8 (2).

6) *EE*, IX, 1229; *Rép.*, 282: [I.O.M.] | DOL[ICHE]|NO SACR(VM) | MAGVN|NA V.S. The slab was probably about 1 foot 5 inches long and 1 foot 10 inches high when complete.

7) *Cf. CIL*, V, 4609; 4155.

8) Hutchinson, *History of Cumberland*, II, p. 534, pl. III (33); *LS*, 761; *CIL*, VII, 956; *Rép.*, 355.

9) I.O.M. | D(OLICHENO) [ET] IV[N(ONI)] (A)ET|ER(NIS) SANCTI[S] | [F]ORTVNA[TVS] | . . . . | V.[S.L.]M. This is substantially the reading proposed by Merlat (*Rép.*, pp. 352-3) who regards the expansion *D(olicheno)* as "possible, sans être absolument certaine". For a discussion of the earlier restorations of Bruce and Hübner see *ibid.*, and compare Haverfield's reading (*Trans.C.&W.*, XV (1899), p. 492 (75); *Cat. Carlisle*, p. 8 (20)).

10) *LS*, 16; *CIL*, VII, 506; *Rép.*, 274: I.O.[M. DOLIC]HE|NO ET NVMINIBVS | AVG (VSTI) PRO SALVTE IMP(ERATORIS) | CAESARIS T. AELI HADR(IANI) | ANTONINI AVG(VSTI) PII P(ATRIS) P(ATRIAE) | ET LEG(IONIS) II AVG(VSTAE) | M. LIBVRNIVS FRON|TO Ↄ LEG(IONIS) EIVSDEM | V.S.L.M.

early in the eighteenth century and first recorded by Horsley 1). The capital and the central portion of the first line of the inscription are broken away, though the dedication is none the less certain, while the major part of the decoration on the sides, an axe and a sacrificial knife on the left and a *patera* and a jug on the right, has survived. The altar was set up by a centurion of the Second Legion for the welfare of Antoninus Pius and the Legion, and is thus dated within the period A.D. 138-61, although recent study 2) of the activities of Lollius Urbicus 3) has suggested that an even closer dating is possible and that this altar 4), together with that of Gaetulicus from Great Chesters 5) and several other inscriptions, is to be assigned to the early years of the reign.

The altar of Gaetulicus, a centurion of the Twentieth Legion 6), was discovered at Great Chesters (*AESICA*) in 1897, during excavations carried out "nearly in the centre of the fort", and was found "used as a walling-stone and laid face upwards" in the commandant's house 7). It is of red sandstone, the capital ornamented with geometric designs and the base plain, and the dedication 8) is neatly cut. A second altar from Great Chesters is fragmentary, and even in Horsley's time the figures on what remains of the capital were "so much defaced that I know not what to make of them" 9). They appear, however, to be those of two animals, the larger seated, which face to the left towards an altar, and it may reasonably be assumed that they were balanced by some analogous figures on the

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1) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, pp. 209-10, VII.

2) *Trans. Architect. & Arch. Soc. Durham & Northumberland*, X, pt. IV (1953), pp. 382-403.

3) Governor of Britain *c.*A.D. 140-3 (*cf.* Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2nd ed., p. 9).

4) *Op. cit.* above n. 2, pp. 392-3.

5) *Op. cit.* above n. 2, p. 393.

6) Merlat (*Rép.*, p. 272) suggests that Gaetulicus was an African or had spent some time there. He also made a dedication to Apollo at Newstead (*EE*, IX, 1233; Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People, Newstead*, p. 143, pl. XVII (2)).

7) *AA*, XIX (1897), p. 268; XXIV (1902), p. 58.

8) *AA*, XIX (1897), p. 271; *EE*, IX, 1192; Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, p. 12 (21), pl. VII; *Rép.*, 278: I.O.M. | DOLICENO LV|CIVS MAXIM|IVS GAETVLIC|VS Ↄ LEG(IONIS) XX V(ALERIAE) V(ICTRICIS) |V.[S.L.]M.

9) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, pp. 228-9, LXI.

other side [1]. Of the inscription only the right-hand portions of the top three lines are at all legible [2], and Horsley, whose contemporaries regarded the text as sepulchral, "annex'd a reading to it suitable to this opinion", though not himself convinced. Astutely he adds that "the seemingly plain appearance of an O at the first rather than a D, and the manifest deficiency in the stone and inscription at the beginning of the lines, have raised a strong jealousy in me, that it has been IOMD" [3].

Of particular interest is a fragment of an altar [4] from the neighbouring fort of Carvoran (*MAGNIS*), which already lacked both base and capital when seen by Horsley in use as "a trough in a stable at *Thirlwel*" [5], and was subsequently lost. The dedication appears to indicate an assimilation of Jupiter Dolichenus with Jupiter Heliopolitanus, for which there is a parallel on a statue base from Aquincum [6], although, as has been pointed out [7], the few letters that survive could also be interpreted as referring to either deity alone. The difficulty remains, but it is perhaps not without significance that what is otherwise the only dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus yet known from Britain [8], "an extremely rude altar", illustrated by Roach Smith [9] and later by Bruce [10], who "found it difficult to distinguish accidental scratches and the natural inequalities of the stone from the intentional cuttings of the stone mason", was also discovered at Carvoran. On neither of these altars has the name or rank of the dedicator survived, but it is probable that in both instances they were members of the Syrian *Cohors I Hamiorum* stationed at the fort, whose presence would explain the devotion to a deity not generally popular in the west [1]).

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[1] *Cf. Rép.*, p. 271. The interpretation of the smaller shape as an animal is doubtful.

[2] *LS*, 274; *CIL*, VII, 725; Haverfield, *Cat. Durham*, pp. 37-8 (XLV); *Rép.*, 277: [I.] O.M. D(OLICHENO) | . . . . .] SABINI FIL(IVS) | . . . . .]INA REGVLVS | . . . . .]AM[. . .

[3] Horsley unfortunately interpreted the D as standing for *dicatum*.

[4] *LS*, 297; *CIL*, VII, 753; *Rép.*, 279: I.O.M. D(OLICHENO) | H(ELIOPOLITANO) . . . . . The interpretation was first suggested by Seidl, *Sitzungsberichte des kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, XII (1854), p. 64 (36).

[5] Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 232, LXXIII.

[6] *Rép.*, 71; Kádár, *Die kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn* (*Et. Pré.*, II), p. 15, pl. II (2). *Cf.* also *Rép.*, 73; 113.

[7] *Cf.* Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno*, p. 43 (49), and *Rép.*, p. 272, n. 4 — "On pourrait aussi lire *I.o.m. d*(*eo*) *H*(*eliopolitano*) . . .".

[8] *LS*, 296; *CIL*, VII, 752: I.O.M. | HELIO|POLI[. .| . . . . . The dedication is clearly to Jupiter O.M. Heliopolitanus, but the remainder of the inscription is uncertain.

[9] Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, II, p. 192, pl. XLVIII (6).

[10] *LS*, p. 151.

A damaged altar from Birdoswald (*CAMBOGLANNA*), the next fort to the west from Carvoran, was first noticed by Horsley [2]) "built up in the court wall" at Willowford, "the face of the altar being downward" and "the left side .... fast in the wall". "By removing the rubbish that lay in the way" he was however, "with some difficulty" able to see under it and copied as much of the inscription as was visible "the letters of which were very clear and apparent". Broken down the right hand side and with its base missing, the piece was subsequently removed to Netherby Hall, where it was seen by Bruce, and was long regarded as a dedication to Jupiter [3]), but a recent restoration [4]) suggests that it in fact relates to Dolichenus and may be dated to A.D. 235-8 [5]).

Another altar which may be restored as a dedication to Dolichenus was found in 1755 some 200 yards to the east of the fort at Old Carlisle (*OLENACVM*), a few miles south of the Wall at its western end. When first recorded [6]), the piece, of sandstone and dating from the last decade of the second century, lacked only the top right hand corner, but by Bruce's time a considerable amount of damage had been inflicted "apparently for the convenience of carriage" [7]). The loss of the corner destroyed the ends of the top three lines of the inscription 1), and it is thus uncertain whether a *D* stood at the end of the first, though the spacing of the letters would suggest this 2).

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[1]) *Cf.* Richmond, *Roman Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 208.

[2]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 252, II.

[3]) *LS*, 349; *CIL*, VII, 810.

[4]) *JRS*, XLVII (1957), p. 229 (17): I.O.M. [D(OLICHENO)] | COH(ORS) I A[EL(IA) DAC(ORVM)] | C(VI) P(RAEEST) FLAVI[VS MA]|XIMIA-[NVS] | TRIB(VNVS) EX [EVOC(ATO) C(OHORTIS)] | I PR(AETORIAE) MA[XIMIN(IANAE)].

[5]) It may, however, be noted that on two other altars from Birdoswald, also dedicated by the *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum* (*LS*, 356; *CIL*, VII, 815 and *LS*, 352; *CIL*, VII, 819), the letters I.O.M. are unevenly spaced, leaving, in the former case, a considerable gap on the right.

[6]) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1756, p. 431.

[7]) *LS*, p. 421.

The two remaining monuments from the north are both from the neighbourhood of Piercebridge (*MAGIS*) some distance behind the Wall on Dere Street in the area of the South Durham coal and iron fields and close to the Yorkshire border. The first of them, a fragment of inscribed stone of red grit, now lost, was ploughed up in a field near the fort at Piercebridge itself "some years" before 1788 3) and "built up in a wall near a cottage", the little that survived of the inscription suggesting that the dedication was to Jupiter Dolichenus 4). The second, an altar, was discovered at nearby Gainford 5) in 1864 during restoration work on the parish church 6). Built into the south-east pier of the tower arch, it had been cut to fit the shape of the Early English capital, but the figure of an eagle holding a wreath in its beak 7) in high relief on the right side, and the major part of the inscription on the front 8), survive in good

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1) Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough 1789, III, pl. X (2); *LS*, 825; *CIL*, VII, 342; *Trans.C.&W.*, XV (1899), p. 465 (6); Haverfield, *Cat. Carlisle*, p. 9 (22): I.O.M. [D(OLICHENO)] | PRO SALVT[E] | IMP(ERATORIS) L. SEPTIM[I] | SEVERI AVG(VSTI) N(OSTRI) | EQVITES ALAE | AVG(VSTAE) CVRANTE | EGNATIO VERE|CVNDO PRA|EF(ECTO) POSVERVNT.

2) But *cf.* above p. 69, n. 5, and compare a battered fragment of an altar (*LS*, 824; *CIL*, VII, 343) found only a few yards from that in question and similarly dedicated *pro salute L. Septimi Severi*, but with scarcely enough room at the end of the irregularly spaced first line for the restoration of a D (*cf.* Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough 1789, III, pl. XI (11)). Another altar from the same site (*LS*, 819; *CIL*, VII, 345) may perhaps have been dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, though the final letter of the first line is less well cut than the rest and has in fact the appearance of an O. That it was intended for a D is possible, but it may equally represent a bungled leaf-stop, or, as seems probable, "betray the erasure of an earlier first line DEO" (*cf.* the most recent treatment of the piece by Collingwood, *Trans.C.&W.*, XXVIII (1928), pp. 367-9).

3) *Arch.*, IX (1789), p. 289.

4) *LS*, 727; *CIL*, VII, 419; *Rép.*, 271: [I.O.]M. DO[LICHENO . . . | . . . PO]MP(EIVS) CO[RNVTVS . . . . . The restoration is, however, doubtful.

5) The name *MANSIO* has no authority, *cf.* *JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189.

6) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1866, pt. II, pp. 333-4; *JBAA*, XXII(1866), pp. 182-90; Haverfield, *Cat. Durham*, pp. 5-6 (I); Wooler, *The Roman Fort at Piercebridge, Co. Durham*, pp. 114-16.

7) *Cf.* Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, pp. 41, 113-14.

8) *LS*, 728; *CIL*, VII, 422; *EE*, IX, 1131; *Rép.*, 272: I.O.M. | DOLY-

condition. The altar was dedicated by a centurion from Germania Superior 1), but the date of the dedication is uncertain since the name of the second of the two consuls is virtually illegible 2).

The sole Dolichene inscription as yet recorded in the south of Britain is an "altar", "of Free-stone, four foot in length, and three in breadth" 3) and dedicated by a *legatus Augustorum*, discovered by some workmen in 1653 "at St. Julian's near *Kaer-Lheion*", i.e. Caerleon (*ISCA SILVRVM*), and now lost. The inscription 4) was copied by Aubrey 5) and communicated to Gibson who described the piece in his additional notes to the 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, adding that "It seems worth the enquiry of the curious, upon what occasion *Jupiter* is here stiled *Dolichenus*; for that I take to be the meaning of this word *Dolichv*. To me it seems somewhat probable, that this Altar was erected to implore his Tuition of some Iron Mines, either in the Forest of Dean, or some other place of this Country" 6).

Also from the south is a small but impressive bronze head of Dolichenus found at Cirencester (*CORINIVM DOBVNNORVM*) 7), apparently the only certain representation of the god in metal as yet discovered in Britain 8), though at least two other bronzes have

CHENO |[I]VL(IVS) VALENTIN[VS] | ORD(INATVS) GER(MANIAE) SV[P(ERIORIS)] | EX IVSSV IPSIV[S] | POSVIT PRO SE ET | SVIS L.L.M. |[PR]AESENTE ET [. . . . . . .] COS.

1) *Cf. Rép.*, p. 265, n. 1. The reading was first suggested by Roach Smith (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1866, pt. II, p. 333).

2) The name has been variously restored as *Rufino*, *Condiano*, *Torquato*, or *Extricato*. The last was regarded as certain by Haverfield (*EE*, IX, 1131) and accepted by Merlat (*Rép.*, p. 264, n. 5), though Richmond (*JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189) doubts whether there is room for it.

3) The measurements would suggest a tablet rather than an altar.

4) Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gibson 1695, cols. 604-6; *CIL*, VII, 98; *EE*, IV, 667; *Rép.*, 269: IOVI O. M. DOLICH[E]N[O ET] | I[VN]ONI C. AEMILIANVS | CALPVRNIVS | RVFILIANVS [L]EG(ATVS) |AVGVSTORVM| MONITV. For *monitu* see Merlat, *Jup. Dol.*, p. 208; *Rép.*, p. 406.

5) ". . . the Inscription whereof was soon after copy'd by the learned and ingenious *John Aubrey* Esq., a true lover and promoter of real knowledge, and a person of equal industry and curiosity . . ." (Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gibson 1695, col. 604).

6) Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gibson 1695, col. 605.

7) Cirencester Museum, no. C. 105: Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 140 (34), pl. 38. The head is 1¾ inches high and has been broken off from its body.

8) The possibility that other unpublished pieces may exist in museum

in the past been so identified 1). The attribution is in this case confirmed by the characteristic conical Syrian hat which crowns the curly hair, and the piece, of third century date, is evidently the work of a provincial artist, although "the type and inspiration are wholly classical and the bronze may well have been imported" 2).

What may perhaps have been a votive offering to Dolichenus was found in 1942 in a burial area on the east side of the fort at Brancaster, Norfolk (*BRANODVNVM*). It is a fragment from the rim of a colour coated (Castor ware) jar with the graffito]*OLICEṆ*[, —the last letter might also be *M*—and "in the apparent absence of a comparable personal name" a restoration *Doliceno* seems probable 3).

The association of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus with iron working has already been noted at several sites 4), and the connection may perhaps be further illustrated by a number of pottery fragments and moulds which, unless they are to be regarded as the debris of cult vessels, need have no particular religious significance. From Corbridge (*CORSTOPITVM*) comes a series 5) of moulds and potsherds with applied decoration, representing various emblems and deities, some of which are clearly to be identified with a (Celtic) Smith-God 6). Among them are a striking appliqué figure

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and private collections cannot be overlooked.

1) A bronze statuette inlaid with silver, found at Bluntisham-cum-Earith, Huntingdonshire, in 1826 (VCH, *Huntingdonshire*, I, p. 264 and frontispiece; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1951/58, p. 54, pl. XVI (8)) is evidently a Mars and not a Dolichenus (*cf*. *Rép*., 366; 367; 357). A bronze statuette of provincial workmanship, from Carley Hill, Co. Durham (*AA*, I (1822), p. 13 (between pp. 134, 135); *Rép*., 371, pl. XL) is possibly a local Smith-God. Compare also three figures from the Southbroom cache (Musgrave, *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae Praecipue Romanae*, 1719, I, pp. 123 f., figs. 5, 11, 13) two of which are now in the British Museum (B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1951/58, p. 54, pl. XVII (16)).

2) Toynbee, *Art in R.B*., p. 140 (34).

3) *JRS*, XLVII (1957), p. 234 (41). *Cf*. *JRS*, LI (1961), p. 197 (42):]MIIRCVRIO[; LIII (1963), p. 167 (55): M[ER]CVR[IO] Ṃ[ERCV]RI[O].

4) See above pp. 56, 61, 65, 70, 71.

5) Most, if not all, seem to be from the workshop of the potter Alletio, and date to the end of the second century A.D.

6) *AA*, XL (1962), pp. 35-45. Some of the figures are very similar to that of the smith on a tombstone from York (RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 128 (96), pl. 53) and a figure on a weathered relief from Duns Tew, Oxfordshire (VCH, *Oxfordshire*, I, p. 336—now in the Ashmolean Museum).

which seems to be from the same hand as the well known "Harry Lauder" Wheel-God [1], and a fragment with part of a rather similar bearded figure wearing a tunic and conical cap and brandishing a double axe, or hammer, which has until recently been accepted as representing Jupiter Dolichenus [2]. That the latter was also in fact intended as a Smith-God seems probable, though the resemblance to the Dolichene type is marked, and the figure may in particular be compared to that of a bearded deity with conical cap, cuirass and double axe on one of five sherds [3] of colour coated pottery with painted decoration found at Castor, i.e. Water Newton (*DVROBRIVAE*) [4], in 1893. In this case the cuirass and undoubted double axe seem clearly to indicate Dolichenus [5], but it may well be that in both instances the primary purpose of the potter was the portrayal of a homely Smith-God, the iconography being incidentally assimilated to that of Jupiter Dolichenus through his connection with iron working.

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[1] *JRS*, XLIX (1959), p. 106; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 191 (161), pl. 256.

[2] *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 193, pl. X (G); *JRS*, XLV (1955), p. 189; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 191 (161)—but *cf.* 2nd ed. p. 191, n. 6. For the contrary view see *AA*, XL (1962), pp. 35-45.

[3] Now in Peterborough Museum. Another sherd from the same area, now in Wisbech Museum, shows what may be two smiths working at an anvil (*Ant. J*, XXXIX (1959), p. 93, fig. 2 (p. 94); *AA*, XL (1962), p. 40).

[4] South of the Northamptonshire iron-stone deposits, which were exploited in Roman times (Richmond, *Roman Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 158).

[5] *Ant.J*, XXXIX (1959), pp. 92, 94, (1a), pl. XXIV (A); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 191 (160), pl. 188. The identification is not disputed by Leach (*AA*, XL (1962), pp. 35-45), although he must have been aware of the piece (*cf.* p. 40).

CHAPTER THREE

THE EGYPTIAN CULTS

The evidence of devotion to the deities of Alexandria in Roman Britain is both sparse and problematic, and, apart from the undoubted Serapeum at York, the dedication from Kirkby Thore, and the reference to a temple of Isis at London [1]), there is little on which to base any general conclusions. The recent discovery in the Walbrook Mithraeum of the outstanding marble head of Serapis (Frontispiece), a sculpture comparable in quality with any known representation of the god [2]), is in itself an indication that even the most unequivocal pieces may in fact have no direct bearing upon the dissemination of the Egyptian cults, and the ready assimilation of Serapis with Jupiter, of Isis with Fortuna, and of Harpocrates with Cupid must dictate caution in the interpretation of statuettes, gems, and other small finds [3]), which may in any event be of little religious import [4]). In the case of Serapis there is, moreover, the additional consideration that in Britain an isolated find may possibly imply a compliment to the Emperor Severus rather than a real attachment to the deity with whom he chose to be associated [5]).

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[1]) See below pp. 75-7, 79-80.

[2]) See above p. 10.

[3]) The identity of such small finds is sometimes overlooked, and it is not suggested that those noted in the succeeding pages are all that may exist in museum or private collections.

[4]) The occasional discovery of coins with figures of the Egyptian deities on the reverse (*cf. PSA*, IV (1856-9), p. 303; *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Field Club*, XXI (1900), p. 166) is irrelevant, and there is no evidence that such types were ever issued by the London mint (*cf.* Mattingly and Sydenham, V (ii), pp. 426 f.; Maurice, *Numismatique constantinienne*, II, pp. 1 f.). We are grateful to Dr C. H. V. Sutherland for this information.

[5]) For the identification of Severus with Serapis *cf.* L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, pp. 76 f., and Richmond in *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948*, ed. Gordon, p. 51, where it is suggested that the well known metrical dedication to Caelestis from Carvoran (below pp. 105-6), a compliment to Julia Domna, may have been paired with another in honour of Severus as Serapis.

Taken as a whole, however, the various indications are perhaps not without some significance, particularly when considered in conjunction with the apparent presence in Roman contexts of Egyptian antiquities, a few at least of which may reasonably be accepted as more than mere curiosities [1]).

The Serapeum at York (*EBVRACVM*) was situated in the area of the civil settlement outside the legionary fortress, to the south-west and across the river. Its existence was first noted in 1770, when the semi-circular foundations of what was evidently an apsidal building were discovered at a depth of about 2 feet, in digging the cellar of a house in Friars' Gardens, Toft Green, opposite, and north-west of, Barker Lane [2]). The foundations, which continued under the adjoining house, were of brick set in mortar "so hard as not to be penetrable by the sharpest tools", and within the arc of the apse, but at a slightly lower level, was found a large slab of coarse gritstone recording the dedication of the temple by one Claudius Hieronymianus, a legate of the Sixth Legion [3]) (Pl. XVI). The stone, which passed into the possession of a local antiquary, was subsequently lost, only to be unexpectedly rediscovered in 1833 during the demolition of a house in the Mint Yard near Bootham Bar [4]). The inscription is "surrounded by a cable moulding in an ansate panel. Each *ansa* is of *pelta* form, decorated with a medial star in a circle, while the spandrels are occupied by a pair of cult standards above and a leaf and rosette below" [5]). The lettering is "deeply cut but ill arranged", and the stone can be dated stylistically to the late second or early third century, a date confirmed by the identification of the dedicator with the *praeses* of Cappadocia who persecuted Christians at the turn of the century, following his wife's conversion [1]. The foundation of the temple may thus reasonably be assigned to the reign of Severus, an enthusiastic devotee of Serapis, who spent the last three years of his life in Britain and died at York in A.D. 211 [2].

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[1]) See below pp. 84-93.

[2]) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1770, p. 391; *Arch.*, III (1786), pp. 151-3, pl. X; Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough 1806, III, p. 303; Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, pp. 75 f., pl. IX (2); *Yorkshire Architect. & York Arch. Soc., Annual Report*, 1953-4, pp. 45-6 (10); RCHM, *Eburacum*, pp. 53-4 (32).

[3]) *CIL*, VII, 240; RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 119 (54), pl. 47: DEO SANCTO | SERAPI | TEMPLVM A SO|LO FECIT | CL. HIERONY|MIANVS LEG(ATVS)| LEG(IONIS) VI VIC(TRICIS).

[4]) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833, pt. I, p. 357; Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 78 — where the vicissitudes of the stone are chronicled in full.

[5]) RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 119 (54).

What may perhaps have been part of the same complex as the foundations of 1770 was found on an adjacent site in 1840, when the street was being revetted close to the Old Railway Station and almost opposite Barker Lane [3]. At a depth of 6 feet foundations of a second apsed building were discovered, with, set in a concrete floor 6 inches thick, a mosaic pavement of a bull with a fish tail. The building was 12 feet wide and some 27 feet long, with an external buttress at the crown of the apsidal south-east end and a curved step at the north-west. The walls were 2 feet thick, and a parallel wall of similar thickness lay 10 feet to the south-west.

The cult of Serapis is also attested at Kirkby Thore (*BRAVONIACVM*) in Westmorland [4], by the dedication on the upper part of a small altar, first reported in 1738 as "lately taken out from the back of an oven . . . . , and now placed in a stone wall in the town street", where it apparently remained until removed to Lowther Castle [5]. The capital is decorated with a row of three six-rayed stars, and of the inscription on the die only the first two lines survive, preserving the dedication to Jupiter Serapis and the greater part of the name of the dedicator [6]. The discovery of the fragment does not necessarily indicate the former presence of a Serapeum connected with the fort, since the altar may, like some of the dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus, have stood in the *principia*, perhaps again reflecting the interest of Severus.

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[1] *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd ed., II, p. 206 (888); Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, p. 51; *Yorkshire Architect. & York Arch. Soc., Annual Report*, 1953-4, p. 32, n. 26; RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 119 (54).

[2] *Cf.* above p. 74, n. 5.

[3] Sheahan and Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York*, I, pp. 295-6; *Handbook, York*, p. 94; *Yorkshire Architect. & York Arch. Soc., Annual Report*, 1953-4, pp. 44-5 (9); RCHM, *Eburacum*, pp. 53-4 (32), pl. 22.

[4] The site of a Roman fort. The altar has been incorrectly attributed to both Appleby and Brougham Castle.

[5] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1738, p. 417; 1753, p. 270; *Arch.*, III (1786), p. 153; Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough 1806, III, p. 411; *LS*, 745.

[6] *LS*, 745; *CIL*, VII, 298: IOVI SERAPI | L. ALFENVS PATE|[RNVS . . . . .

A head of Serapis was found at Silchester at the turn of the last century, in the garden of a house on a site formerly occupied by old farm buildings, about half a mile from the Roman town (*CALLEVA ATREBATVM*) [1]) (Pl. XVII). The piece, "from long exposure rendered unrecognisable as a fragment of sculpture by a thick coating of moss, had at some time been used as a weight to a cheese press in the destroyed farm buildings" [2]) and is consequently somewhat battered. It is of rather more than life size, with a flattening on the crown to accommodate a separate *modius* now lost [3]), and is of oolite, though the quality of the sculpture suggests that it was "the work of a good continental carver using a British medium" [4]). The coiffure is of the type with hanging forelocks, and the head may be dated to the late second or early third century [5]). The existence at Silchester of a Serapeum roughly contemporary in foundation with that at York may thus be suggested, though it is not impossible that the head came from a Mithraeum or some other temple [6]).

Another head of the god was dug up some years ago at Highworth, Wiltshire, in a small paddock to the west of Westrop House, where excavation has revealed Romano-British burials [7]). The head, 5 inches high, is also of the "Roman" type with forelocks, and the crown is flattened and provided with a dowel hole for the attachment of the *modius*, which had not survived. The material is imperial porphyry [8]), the style of the work pointing to a date in the last quarter of the second century or possibly a little later [1]. That the head was brought to Britain at this period is, however, unlikely, and the location and circumstances of the find suggest that it is probably an importation of eighteenth century or more recent date [2].

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[1]) *Arch.*, LVII (1900), pp. 110-11, figs. 8-9 (pp. 108-9); Boon, *Roman Silchester*, pp. 125-6, pl. 24 (3); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 145, n. 11, pl. 243.

[2]) *Arch.*, LVII (1900), pp. 110-11.

[3]) The remains of an iron bar are embedded in the crown of the head, but this may be connected with the secondary use of the piece as a weight.

[4]) Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 145, n. 11.

[5]) We are grateful to Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee for this dating. For the type see Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, pp. 144-5, with references there.

[6]) *Cf.* above pp. 10-11.

[7]) *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, L (1942-4), pp. 99-100; VCH, *Wiltshire*, I (i), p. 77. The head was formerly in the Passmore collection and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, no. 1955.333.

[8]) Sculptures of Serapis in this material are comparatively uncommon (*cf.* Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, pp. 66-7).

Other representations of Serapis are few in number and of doubtful significance, the most interesting being a ring with carnelian intaglio found in a Roman pot in the churchyard at Castlesteads (*VXELLODVNVM*) [3]. The device shows a bust of the god, with a *modius*, between two heads, latterly described as Isis and Horus (Harpocrates), but probably intended for the Dioscuri, while below are the three letters EZC. The inscription doubtless represents the common invocation EIC ZEYC CAPAΠIC [4], and the heads may plausibly be interpreted as alluding to Severus and his two sons Caracalla and Geta [5]. A bust of Serapis with a *modius* is also represented on a sard intaglio now in the Yorkshire Museum and possibly therefore from York, though the exact provenance is unknown. The inscription is evidently garbled, but may perhaps be an inept abbreviation of the familiar formula. A gold ring with an onyx intaglio described as Jupiter Serapis was found at Wroxeter (*VIROCONIVM*) early in the eighteenth century [6], and an intaglio in blue glass from York has been similarly identified, though the description of the figure suggests that it is merely Jupiter [7]. A lamp with Jupiter Serapis and his "Cerberus" on the disc was found in Great Winchester Street, London [1]), and a small bronze head of Helioserapis, radiate and with a lunar crescent, was discovered in a sandhill at Felmingham Hall, Norfolk in 1844 [2]). The head was one of about twenty little objects, mostly bronze, contained in two pots, one inverted over the other, and the hoard may perhaps represent a votive deposit or a cache of household treasures [3]).

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[1] We are grateful to Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee for this dating.

[2] The "small low mound" at the south-west corner of the paddock and "close to the road", in or near which the head is alleged to have been found, is described as "much dug about for sand and disfigured by a tip of modern rubbish; for many years skeletons have been dug up here and are attributed locally to Oliver Cromwell".

[3] *Arch.*, XI (1808), p. 71, pl. VI (25); *PSA Newcastle*, II (1885-6), p. 147; *AJ*, XLIV (1887), pp. 126-7; *EE*, VII, 1175; *IG*, XIV, 2573 (2).

[4] Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion*, pp. 24-30; Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, pp. 227-40; Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, pp. 174-5. *Cf.* also Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, pp. 305 f. (138-9, 143, 213-14).

[5] *Cf.* Noll, *Kunst der Römerzeit in Österreich*, p. xii (77a), fig. 77; Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, p. 184 (2863-5), pl. XXIV.

[6] *JBAA*, IV (1849), p. 316; VCH, *Shropshire*, I, p. 254.

[7] *Handbook, York*, p. 124. A bronze statuette found at South Stoke, near Arundel, Sussex, and described as Jupiter Serapis, is also a Jupiter (*PSA*, VII (1876-8), pp. 339-40; VCH, *Sussex*, III, p. 66; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, p. 88).

The existence of a temple of Isis in Southwark, in Roman times a small bridgehead settlement on the south bank of the Thames at London Bridge, is suggested by a graffito *LONDINI AD FANVM ISIDIS* on a jug dug up in Tooley Street in 1912 [4]) (Pl. XVIII). The jug, 10 inches high, is of buff ware, and the two lines of the graffito on the shoulder appear to have been scratched after the clay was dry, that is, when the jug was actually in use rather than at the time of its manufacture. It may thus be inferred that it belonged to a wine shop or, more probably, a tavern situated near a temple of Isis, a not inappropriate juxtaposition [5]), and although the jug might have been brought to Southwark from elsewhere, such a shrine is likely to have been in the cosmopolitan suburb outside the city [6]). The form of the jug has been taken to indicate a date "probably not later than the third quarter of the Ist century A.D." [7]), and definite evidence of Flavian occupation having been discovered in Southwark [1]), the establishment of an Iseum at this period is not impossible, though a somewhat later date cannot entirely be excluded [2]).

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[1]) *Cat. Guildhall Museum*, p. 46 (29); VCH, *London*, I, p. 134.

[2]) *AJ*, I (1844), pp. 380-1, 385; XLVI (1889), p. 339; *JBAA*, XIV (1858), p. 5; VCH, *Norfolk*, I, pp. 307-9, fig. 21 (11); B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1951/58, p. 60, pl. XXIV (2). For a small bronze bust of a bearded man crowned with what may be a *modius*, said to have been found at Avebury, Wiltshire, see Cunnington and Goddard, *Cat. Devizes*, pt. II, 2nd ed., p. 224, pl. LXXIII (3).

[3]) The hoard is loosely dated to the third century by a coin of Valerian.

[4]) *EE*, IX, 1372; *JRS*, XII (1922), p. 283 (13); RCHM, *Roman London*, p. 177 (104), pl. 53; *London in Roman Times*, pp. 25, 51, pl. V.

[5]) For taverns in close proximity to temples *cf. CIL*, XIV, 4291 (referred to by Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (*Et. Pré.*, III), p. 28); *CIL*, VI, 9824 (referred to by Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine*, pp. 59, 128-9, n. 47; Firebaugh, *The Inns of Greece and Rome*, pp. 160-1); Catullus XXXVII. For the formula *ad X cf.* Kleberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-6, particularly p. 65; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1872, pp. 65-79.

[6]) *Cf.* Home, *Roman London*, 1926, pp. 215-16; 1948, pp. 205-6. Antiquaries of the nineteenth century were generally agreed that a pagan temple had stood on the site of the Cathedral, at that time St. Saviour's and formerly St. Mary Overey. For the finds from this site *cf.* VCH, *London*, I, p. 140; *Surrey*, IV, pp. 375-6.

[7]) *London in Roman Times*, p. 51.

At least three other objects with Isiac associations have been found in London, although none can be said to constitute evidence of the cult. The exact provenance of a bronze steelyard weight in the form of a bust of Isis is not known [3]), but a bone pin, the head of which is a hand holding a bust of the goddess, comes from Moorgate [4]), and a bronze ring with glass intaglio apparently of Isis-Fortuna, perhaps of third century date, was found in London Wall [5]). Another intaglio, of rather poor workmanship, found at Wroxeter in 1840 [6]), shows the type of Isis, or a priestess of the cult, with a sistrum in one hand and a situla in the other [7]), and an apparently similar representation also occurs on the bezel of a massive gold ring said to have been found at Silchester, the female figure, described as bearing fruits and corn, being in all probability the common Isiac type ¹).

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[1]) Kenyon, *Excavations in Southwark*, p. 12, and *cf.* also VCH, *London*, I, pp. 136-42; *Surrey*, IV, pp. 371-8. For other first century finds in Tooley Street itself *cf.* VCH, *London*, I, p. 141; *Surrey*, IV, p. 377.

[2]) See *JRS*, XII (1922), p. 283 (13), where the jug is dated to the second century. A type of jug which "appears to be mainly first century on other sites" was firmly associated with an Antonine level at Southwark (Kenyon, *Excavations at Southwark*, p. 71 (22)).

[3]) *London in Roman Times*, p. 47, pl. XIX (9). A similar weight in the Yorkshire Museum is also of uncertain provenance, but may have been found in York.

[4]) *London in Roman Times*, pp. 103-4, fig. 32 (1), wrongly described as Cybele.

[5]) *I.e.* the former street of that name. *London in Roman Times*, pp. 100-1, fig. 31 (9), described as "Abundantia or the like". For the type *cf.* Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, p. 309 (151). *Cf.* also a carnelian intaglio from Leicester (*RATAE CORITANORVM*) (Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester*, p. 254, fig. 83 (16)), a bone pin from the City of London (B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1951/58, p. 28, fig. 14 (11)) and a small bronze from Swan Lane, Upper Thames Street, City of London (B.M., no. 53.5-2.15: *Arch. Review*, I (1888), p. 358; VCH, *London*, I, p. 127).

[6]) Anderson, *The Roman City of Uriconium*, p. 82; *JBAA*, XIX (1863), p. 109, pl. X (1); VCH, *Shropshire*, I, p. 255, fig. 28. The stone is variously described as "bright red", and "black . . . with a vein of pure white upon its face", of which the former is probably correct.

[7]) For the type *cf.* Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, p. 309 (148).

Of the deities associated with Serapis and Isis, the most important, Harpocrates, is also known from the City of London, a terracotta bust apparently of the infantile god, with lunar pendant, having been found in Great Winchester Street in 1867 ²). From London too, though without a precise provenance, is a small bronze statuette of Harpocrates represented as a naked youth wearing the double crown and bearing a *cornucopiae* in his left hand while his right is raised to his lips in the typical gesture ³). A third figure ⁴), of silver, was found in the Thames in 1825 in digging the southern abutment foundation of the present London Bridge and may possibly therefore come from Southwark. Chubby and winged like a Cupid, the god is identified as Harpocrates by the crescent which crowns his hair and the characteristic raising of the right index finger to the lips. A delicate gold chain is looped round his body, and at his feet are a dog, a tortoise, and a bird; a gold ring for attachment passes through a loop in the back of the figure ⁵).

A carnelian intaglio with a representation of Anubis is said to have come from a grave on the Isle of Anglesey (*MONA*) ⁶), and a

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1) *Illustrierte Zeitung*, LXXII (1879), p. 285; Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, col. 416.

2) *Cat. Guildhall Museum*, p. 70 (32). Height 5 inches.

3) B.M., no. 1931.12-7.1. Height 3½ inches.

4) Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 73-4, pl. XXII (1-2); Allen, *History and Archaeology of London*, I, p. 32; VCH, *London*, I, p. 109; RCHM, *Roman London*, p. 194; Walters, *Cat. of the Silver Plate in the B.M.*, pp. 12-13 (49), pl. V; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, p. 89; 1951/58, p. 54, pl. XV (6).

5) A fragment of a somewhat similar stone statue, winged and garlanded, was discovered in Chester (*DEVA*) in 1851, during excavations in Duke Street, but from the position of what remains of the arms, and the absence of any distinctive attribute it was evidently not a Harpocrates (*cf. Journ. Architect. Arch. & Hist. Soc. Chester*, I (1849-55), p. 198, pl. opp.; *Journ. Chester & North Wales Architect. Arch. & Hist. Soc.*, XXVII (1926-7), p. 180 (LXII). A bronze figure of a winged Cupid in the Yorkshire Museum (*Handbook, York*, pp. 131-2; Home, *Roman York*, pl. opp. p. 130, lower block, top right) has attributes, a bunch of grapes and a dove, which are elsewhere associated with Harpocrates and with acolytes of Isis (*cf. CRAI*, 1905, pp. 121-5, fig. 2; *Pantheon*, XVIII (1960), pp. 267-71; *Brooklyn Museum Annual*, II-III (1960-62), pp. 36-40; Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 98). For a bronze knob of doubtful identification see Bushe-Fox, *Richborough*, IV, p. 137(161), pl. XLIII.

6) *Museum Münterianum*, III, p. 105 (73); Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, col. 416.

cache of nineteen household deities, including one described as Anubis, was discovered as long ago as 1714 in a field at Southbroom, near Devizes, Wiltshire, contained in a large two-handled amphora enclosed in Roman tiles or bricks secured with cement [1]. Only eight of the bronze figures, native representations of classical deities, can now be traced [2], but an illustration of the alleged Anubis is given by Musgrave, from which it is clear that the identification is unfounded.

In the same cache was also a rather crude bronze bull, originally described as an Apis [3]. Like the "Anubis" it is now lost, but as far as can be judged from Musgrave's illustration it seems to have had little in common with either the Egyptian or the Roman type [4], and the attribution must be regarded as extremely doubtful. A second bull, obtained at St. Just, Cornwall, appears to have had a crescent on its side and was similarly described as an Apis when found [5], but the origin and date of the piece are uncertain and again the identification is questionable.

In connection with Apis it may perhaps be appropriate to mention a rather curious altar [6] apparently dug up in the chancel of the church of St. Mary's Stone-in-Oxney, Kent, some time before the middle of the eighteenth century [7]. The altar, of Kentish rag from Hythe, was removed from the church soon after its discovery and

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1) Musgrave, *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae Praecipue Romanae*, 1719, I, pp. 123 f., with figs.; Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, I, p. 145; Waylen, *Chronicles of the Devizes*, pp. 278-82; *AJ*, X (1853), p. 62; *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, I (1854), p. 214; VI (1860), p. 138; IX (1866), pp. 29-30; XXXVIII (1914), p. 239; XLIII (1927), p. 503; XLV (1932), p. 185; Cunnington, *Introduction to the Archaeology of Wiltshire*, 2nd ed., pp. 135-6; VCH, *Wiltshire*, I (i), p. 62 (*s.v.* Devizes).

2) B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1951/58, p. 54, pl. XVII (16).

3) See above n. 1.

4) For an Egyptian Apis of uncertain provenance see below p. 90. A bronze bull from a site in Gloucestershire, now in the British Museum (no. 83.1-6.1), is perhaps also to be interpreted as an Apis.

5) *AJ*, VII (1850), pp. 8 f., and *cf.* Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, col. 416.

6) Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough 1789, I, p. 236, pl. XIII (11); Hasted, *History of Kent*, 1790, III, p. 539; Yeandle, *Historical Notes on the Church of Stone-in-Oxney, Kent*, pp. 10-11; *Arch. Cantiana*, XLVII (1935), pp. 1 f., pls. I-III.

7) Probably in 1733 or 1738, though it is possible that the discovery dates from as early as 1677. It has been suggested that the altar came originally from Lympne.

used as a horse block, "by which means it was much defaced and cracked asunder", but the Rev. W. Gostling, "who was too great a lover of the remains of antiquity to suffer it to continue in this perishing state, had it repaired, and placed it upright in the fence of his vicarage garden", whence it has more recently been returned to the shelter of the church. No trace of an inscription has been noted on the altar, but the eighteenth century antiquaries are unanimous in stating that the figure of a bull 1) in relief which survives on the die was originally repeated on all four sides. The remains of an iron chafing dish are said to have been preserved in the focus, though this is also described as retaining "a blackness, as if burnt . . . . " The significance of the altar is problematic, but it is certainly not Mithraic as has been suggested. The attitude of the bull is indeed not unlike that of the Apis as sometimes depicted on altars, but such an interpretation is somewhat improbable in this instance, and the animal may perhaps be otherwise explained 2).

Of the cult of Jupiter Ammon in Roman Britain there is no satisfactory evidence, though several instances of the god's head used as a primarily decorative motif are known, and it it is possible that in some cases the type was tacitly identified with a form of the native Horned God. The presence of the head of Jupiter Ammon on the disc of a lamp of Probus found in a Roman grave at Borough Green, near Ightham, Kent 3), is surely fortuitous, nor is there likely to be any religious significance in the occurrence of the mask of the god as appliqué decoration on pottery. One example, "a rude but elegantly designed vessel ornamented at the lip with a head of Jupiter Ammon", was discovered in a tumulus in Wiltshire in 1837 4), another, part of the rim of a bowl of light buff ware with a moulded head in relief, was included among miscellaneous unstratified pottery from a kiln site at Canterbury (*DVROVERNVM CAN-*

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1) In one of the earliest sketches (reproduced in *Arch. Cantiana*, XLVII (1935), pl. I) the animal seems to be a cow.

2) Compare, for example, two altars from Risingham, one dedicated to Hercules and the other on which the bull is a legionary symbol (Richmond, *Romans in Redesdale*, p. 133 (11), p. 143 (50)).

3) *Arch. Cantiana*, XIX (1892), p. 9 (67).

4) *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, L (1942-4), p. 289; VCH, *Wiltshire*, I (i), p. 131.

TIACORVM) [1], and a third, a finely modelled head from the rim of a large vessel of apparently similar ware, was found in Clifford Street, York, in 1882 [2]. A bronze "medallion" with a head of Jupiter Ammon, discovered at the Mansion House, London, in 1865 [3], is, even if correctly identified [4], of doubtful relevance, nor can any cult significance be attached to a sculpture, now lost, which was noted in the early eighteenth century at St. Thomas Watering, outside the bounds of Roman Southwark, near the point where Albany Road now joins the Old Kent Road [5]. The precise nature of the piece is not indeed clear, but it was apparently a bifrontal head of Jupiter and Juno, the former bearded and crowned with a laurel wreath and having the characteristic ram's horns of Ammon, and may perhaps have been intended to represent an Emperor and his consort in the guise of the two Olympians. One other sculpture, a crude yet powerful head of native workmanship found at Netherby (*CASTRA EXPLORATORVM*) [6] may also be noted in relation to Jupiter Ammon. Dating from the second or third century A.D., it is clearly a portrayal of a Celtic deity, perhaps a local form of Mars as the Horned God [7], the curving ram's horns which recall the classical type being at once symbolic of war and fertility, and peculiarly appropriate to the Horned God in what is predominantly a sheep-rearing area.

The problem posed by the alleged discovery of Egyptian antiquities on British sites [8] has received but little attention in the past, largely no doubt because of the somewhat unsatisfactory nature of the evidence and the paucity of published references to such discoveries. From time to time, indeed, objects of Egyptian origin said to have been dug up in this country are reported to museums or other institutions, but in most cases they are summarily dismissed without record as necessarily recent importations, a presumption difficult to justify in the face of mounting evidence of similar finds in Gaul 1), the Rhineland 2), the Danube area 3), and other parts of the Roman Empire 4). That the native provenance of many of the pieces so condemned is in fact chimerical can, however, scarcely be doubted, and even in the case of objects unquestionably recovered from the earth the circumstances of the find may well be such as to suggest that the interment has been of comparatively recent date. The "modern" importation of Egyptian antiquities by collectors dates from at least as early as the second quarter of the seventeenth century 5), and it is not surprising therefore that during rather more than three centuries some pieces should have been lost and found again.

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[1] *Arch. Cantiana*, LIII (1940), pp. 119, 132-3 (63), pl. I.

[2] *AA*, XIII (1889), pp. 361-2; *Handbook, York*, p. 145; Home, *Roman York*, pl. opp. p. 158.

[3] VCH, *London*, I, p. 114.

[4] One of the bronze statuettes from the Southbroom cache (see above p. 82, n. 1) has been described as Jupiter Ammon, though it is in no way similar (*cf.* B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1951/58, pl. XVII (16)—figure on extreme right of group).

[5] Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Strype 1720, II, App. V, p. 23; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, Kent I; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1824, pt. I, p. 409; Allen, *History and Archaeology of London*, I, p. 37; VCH, *London*, I, p. 138; *Surrey*, IV, p. 374; Home, *Roman London*, 1926, p. 216; 1948, p. 206. For an antefix from Chester (*DEVA*) see *JBAA*, V (1850), p. 231; Watkin, *Roman Cheshire*, p. 221.

[6] Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 21, pl. 9 (4); *AA*, XXXIX (1961) pp. 72-3, 79, pl. XVI (1); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 146 (42a), pl. 44.

[7] *Cf. AA*, XXXIX (1961), pp. 72-6.

[8] See also below pp. 113-14 (Addenda).

A particularly striking case is that of the two large limestone

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1) *Revue archéologique*, XXXVI (1900), pp. 75-86; XX (1912), pp. 197-210; III (1916), pp. 184-210; *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XX (1951), p. 122, n. 79; *Bull. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LV (1955), pp. 173-9; LXI (1962), pp. 43-53.

2) *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXXIX (1924), pp. 76-9, and *cf.* pp. 47-50; *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XX (1951), pp. 121-3; *Bull. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LV (1955), p. 176, n. 4.

3) *Bull. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LV (1955), p. 176, n. 5; Wessetsky, *Die ägyptischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn* (*Et. Pré.*, I).

4) *Cf.* Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, cols. 412-19; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, VII, pp. 367-420; *Bull. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LV (1955), pp. 173-9; *Orientalia*, XXI (1952), p. 249; XXII (1953), pp. 104-5; XXIII (1954), pp. 76-9; XXIV (1955), pp. 310-17; XXV (1956), pp. 263-8; XXVII (1958), pp. 91-101; XXX (1961), pp. 391-406; XXXI (1962), pp. 335-8; XXXII (1963), pp. 208-19; XXXIII (1964), pp. 387-404.

5) A collection of antiquities formerly in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and now largely absorbed into the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, included a few Egyptian objects obtained for Archbishop Laud (d. 1645) and others given by Aaron Goodyear, Turkey Merchant, in 1681 (*cf. Marmora Oxoniensia*, 1763, pt. I, pl. XLII, pt. II, pls. I-II—where other pieces are also illustrated). For a miscellany of Egyptian antiquities brought to England prior to 1737 see the plates accompanying Gordon, *An Essay Towards Explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the Ancient Mummy belonging to Capt. William Lethieullier*, 1737.

scarabs found in Wiltshire in 1928, the first discovered in blasting out the foundations of a derelict aerodrome near Stonehenge, the second unearthed a few inches below the surface of the ground beneath a shed in a yard at Ludgershall in the same area, and both identified as modern forgeries [1]). Another example is that of an alabaster vase found at a depth of 8 feet in digging a hole for a large gatepost on the site of a Roman quarry at Heronbridge near Chester, and subsequently proved to have been thrown out from a nearby house when the quarry was being used as a rubbish tip [2]). A similar explanation will surely account for a protodynastic bowl of porphyritic rock recovered from the Thames at Twickenham in 1892 [3]), and perhaps, too, for a shawabti said to be of Ramses II and allegedly found together with Romano-British pottery on the surface of a field near the River Wey at Tilford, Surrey [4]), while a fragment of a stela of a scribe in charge of the *mrt* [5]) of Amūn, Horsiese, dug up in a garden at Birkdale, Southport, Lancashire, probably in 1903 [6]), may also be dismissed, if only because of the sparseness of Roman material in the area—and the proximity of Birkdale to the port of Liverpool.

The most interesting of the Egyptian antiquities discovered in Britain are undoubtedly two pieces of sculpture, one certainly from York and the other perhaps from London, though actually found some 13 miles outside the confines of the Roman city. The former [7]), (Pl. XIX), found in Trinity Gardens, Micklegate, not far from the site of the Serapeum, probably in 1857, is the head of a man, about half life size, executed in a grey-black compact stone not unlike basalt in appearance, though the identification is uncertain 1). The sockets of the eyes are blank, indicating that they were originally inlaid, and the close curly hair is bound with a fillet, the style of the work suggesting that the piece is to be dated to the late Ptolemaic period 2). The other sculpture 3), the torso of a naophorous statue 20 inches high and also described as basalt 4), was found during excavations at Hayes, Middlesex, "in gravel under clay at a depth of 8 or 9 feet". Apparently also of Ptolemaic date 5), it lacks both head and feet and is somewhat battered, its condition, coupled with the circumstances of the discovery, raising the question of whether, like the bronzes from Southwark found on the towpath at Barnes 6), the statue had been dumped with ballast from dredging operations in the Thames. The vogue for Egyptian antiquities in Imperial times requires no elaboration, and numerous instances may be cited of their use in furnishing the temples of the Egyptian cults 7) or as fashionable orna-

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[1]) *Man*, XXXV (1935), pp. 120-1; *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1935-7), pp. 412-19.

[2]) We are indebted to Dr G. Webster for this information. The piece is now in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester. For the Roman site at Heronbridge *cf. Journ. Chester & North Wales Architect. Arch. & Hist. Soc.*, XXXIX (1952), pp. 3 f.; XLI (1954), pp. 1 f.

[3]) B.M., no. 1945.10-8.1.

[4]) *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, XXI (1908), p. 213. For pottery from Tilford see VCH, *Surrey*, IV, p. 362 (*s.v.* Farnham). Shawabtis have, however, been found in Roman contexts elsewhere (*cf.* above p. 85, nn. 1-4).

[5]) *Wörterbuch der aeg. Sprache*, II, 106, 11-20, particularly 20.

[6]) *Cf. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, VIII (1905), col. 73. The maximum height of the fragment is 6¼ inches, the maximum width 7½ inches.

[7]) RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 131 (115), pl. 49. The hole in the crown of the head is probably not original.

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1) *Cf.* Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. Harris, pp. 407, 419-20. Probably, in fact, black granite.

2) *Cf.* Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, pp. 178-9 (136), pls. 128-9 (figs. 340-1, 343); Editions "Tel", *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: le musée du Caire*, pp. 32, 47, fig. 209; *Rivista degli studi orientali*, XXXIV (1959), pp. 1-25; Drerup, *Ägyptische Bildnisköpfe griechischer und römischer Zeit*, pp. 17-18, 26, n. 47, pl. 10; Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco: Guida*, 2nd ed., p. 51 (31), pl. VII.

3) *Ant.J*, XV (1935), p. 354, pl. 54. The piece is now in the British Museum, no. 1935.4-17.1.

4) *Cf.* above n. 1.

5) For the stylistic criteria see Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, p. 149, and *cf. ibid.*, p. 166; *AJA*, LVII (1953), p. 287.

6) *Cf.* RCHM, *Roman London*, p. 194, n. 3; *AJ*, LXXXVI (1929), p. 72.

7) For objects from the Iseum Campense see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, VII, pp. 412-15; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 502-4; Bosticco, *I monumenti egizi ed egittizzanti*, pp. 13-31; Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, 3rd ed., p. 156 (402). For the obelisks from the site see Porter and Moss, *op cit.*, pp. 407 (Florence), 408 (Urbino), 409-12 (Rome); *MdI*, LXIV (1957), pp. 238-9; Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, II, pp. 148-54, 157-60, and *cf*, pp. 139-40, and for those from the Iseum on the Appian Way see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 418. For objects from the Serapeum Ostiense see Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (*Et. Pré.*, III), p. 26, and for those from the Iseum at Pompeii see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 418; Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, p. 165 (115-115b).

ments in palaces [1]) and private houses [2]). That the York head originally formed part of the furnishings of the Serapeum [3]) seems therefore plausible, and it is not impossible that the statue from Hayes may also have adorned a shrine.

A third piece of sculpture, now in the Cathedral Library, Durham, seems also to be of Egyptian origin and may have been found in Britain, though the evidence as to its origin is unsatisfactory [4]). The fragment, of sandstone and rather more than half life size, appears to be a mask of Bes or Hity, broken below along the line of the beard and with only the base of the characteristic headdress preserved. The back of the stone is rough, rather as if cut away from a background, and the head may in fact have come from a high relief of Ptolemaic or Roman date [5]), in which case a Romano-British origin seems unlikely.

With few exceptions [6]), the smaller objects fall into two main groups, the first comprising figures of deities, notably Osiris, to which it is not unreasonable to ascribe some religious significance, the second including scarabs and other amulets, which may well have been little more than curiosities.

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[1]) *E.g.* Hadrian's villa at Tivoli (Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 416-17) and the palace of Diocletian at Spalato (*ibid.*, pp. 406-7; Jéquier, *Les monuments égyptiens de Spalato*).

[2]) *E.g.* a cippus of Horus on the crocodiles found in a private house on the Esquiline (Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 415; Bosticco, *I monumenti egizi ed egittizzanti*, pp. 34-6 (409), pl. IV) and a block of Nectanebo I from a site adjacent to the *Privata Traiani* on the Aventine (Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 415; Museo Civico, Bologna, *l'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale*, pp. 88-90 (69), pl. 39).

[3]) See above pp. 75-6.

[4]) The piece may be that noted by Haverfield (*Cat. Durham*, p. 40 (LII)) as "A sculptured stone, representing a face, sometimes supposed to be of Roman origin". The reference to *LS*, p. 370 is, however, incorrect, since the Lanchester sculpture there noted, in fact a rude figure of the Horned God, is in Newcastle, together with other stones from the Greenwell collection (*cf.* Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, p. 64 (273)—which seems to be it, though no reference is given to *LS*; *AA*, XXXIX (1961), p. 75, pl. XVI (3)).

[5]) Compare Jéquier, *Les temples ptolémaiques et romains*, pls. 5 (4), 68 (2-3), 69; Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, pls. XXXIII (A-B), XLVII (B), XLIX (A), LIV (h, j), LIV BIS (A), and *cf.* in general Daumas *Les Mammisis des temples égyptiens*, pp. 136-44.

[6]) One rather curious find is a model two-handled amphora of reddish-brown pottery, originally attached to something else, discovered in Essex and now in the museum at Alexandria (reg. no. P. 10452) (*cf.* Rowe, *New Light on Aegypto-Cyrenaean Relations* (*Ann. Serv. Cahier* 12), p. 82, fig. 12 (p. 79)).

Of the representations of deities, the best authenticated is the head of a terracotta figure of Osiris Hydreios 1) found recently at 84 High Street, Rochester, Kent (*DVROBRIVAE*), associated with tesserae and below material of thirteenth century date from which it was separated by about 12 inches of fill 2). The body is missing and the crown and *nemes* headdress are damaged, but the identification of the piece is certain and it seems reasonable to suppose that it is in fact a genuine find of Roman date. Rather less satisfactory is the evidence for three 3) other Osiris figures, all of bronze, the first of Ptolemaic or Roman date stated to have been discovered in the "Roman camp" at Swanscombe, Kent 4), the second, of Roman date, said to come from the villa at Stancombe, presumably that in the parish of Stinchcombe, near Dursley, Gloucestershire 5), and the third picked out of a collection of old metal at a roadside smith's forge at Chillington, near Ilminster, Somerset 6). A hollow cast female figure, small and crude and much worn, found at Dorchester (*DVRNONOVARIA*), is perhaps to be identified as Isis 7), and a bronze figure of Harpocrates, seated, is

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1) For the type see Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen zu ägyptisch-griechischen Religion*, pp. 29 f.; Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, pp. 19-25, pl. I; Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte*, pp. 75-7, pl. XLIX, and *cf.* also *Der alte Orient*, XXXIV (1936), pp. 28-34.

1) We are grateful to R. E. Chaplin Esq. for this information. For the site *cf. JRS*, L (1960), p. 235.

3) A fourth statuette, alleged to have been found during the excavations at Maiden Castle, Dorset, must be regarded with suspicion. We are grateful to R. N. R. Peers Esq. for bringing this piece to our notice.

4) B.M., no. 41.7-21.1: *AJ*, IX (1852), p. 9; *Arch.*, LI (1888), p. 466; VCH, *Kent*, III, p. 171; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, p. 89. The figure is 6¾ inches high, exclusive of the dowel at the base, and 7½ inches overall. The hands are pierced to receive the crook and flail, and the sides of the crown are slotted for the attachment of separate feathers. The uraeus is merely blocked out, and the eyes are inlaid with what appears to be gold.

5) Bristol Museum, no. F. 3889. The figure is 5½ inches high, with a dowel at the base. For the site *cf.* Witts, *Archaeological Handbook of the County of Gloucester*, p. 65 (19). L. V. Grinsell Esq., to whom we are indebted for information concerning this piece, informs us that there was formerly a museum in Stancombe Park, from which the figure may have come.

6) *PSA*, XI (1885-7), p. 88, and *cf.* Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, col. 416.

7) *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Field Club*, XXI (1900), p. 96. Height 3 inches.

said to have been discovered in "undisturbed" subsoil when part of a cellar wall collapsed at Brandon House, Norfolk [1]). Among bronzes exhibited in the Yorkshire Museum is an Egyptian Apis bull of uncertain provenance, but possibly from York [2]), a bronze ibis is said to have been found near Rochester [3]), and a bronze sphinx was discovered in a Roman house at Caerwent [4]), though whether it was of Egyptian or, as seems probable, of Roman workmanship is not stated.

An interesting find from Exeter (*ISCA DVMNONIORVM*) which may also have a direct bearing on the worship of the Egyptian deities is the fragment of a faience [5]) sistrum dug up on Bell Hill, South Street, in 1833, "on the same spot where I have before noticed the existence of an ancient *Thermae* or Bath, much Samian Ware, ... , many coins, tesselated Pavement, &c." [6]) The fragment, 3½ inches high, preserves the upper part of the handle with the head of Hathor and the beginning of an inscription on each side [7]), and the finding of such a cult object on a site associated with other Roman material [8]) may perhaps indicate that there were devotees of Isis in Exeter [9]).

Scarabs such as that found at Darlington, Co. Durham, "alone with no trace of a burial or accompanying objects" [1], are of little or no significance, but in at least three instances there is justification for regarding the discovery as of some evidential value. Of these the most satisfactorily documented is a large uninscribed "jade" [2] scarab of the Late Period, found on the site of a villa in Hambleden valley, Buckinghamshire [3], and apparently associated with the occupation of the site during the Roman period. Possibly a Roman importation also is a second uninscribed scarab, of turquoise blue frit [4], discovered, together with two Italic brooches of the Early Iron Age and some pottery fragments, during excavations for material to raise a mound in the grounds of an asylum at Alton, Hampshire [5]. The evidence of Roman settlement at Alton [6] is adequate to support the assumption of a Roman context for this discovery, but the association of the Italic brooches, others of which may possibly have been contemporary imports [7], might suggest that the scarab, itself of Saite date, had found its way to Britain at this earlier period [8]. A third example, reported as long ago as 1792, was dug up in the Isle of Sheppey "at the depth of sixty yards" (*sic*), together with "a red China plate", presumably a Samian *patera*, and "a piece of gold coin" [9]. The scarab, of which the material is not stated, was of the type intended to be sewn to the outer wrappings of a mummy, and seemingly of Ptolemaic or Roman date, and the likelihood of its having been lost in "modern" times is small.

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[1]) B.M., no. 1951.10-3. Height 2⅞ inches. We are grateful to J. W. Brailsford Esq. for the note of the alleged discovery of the piece, which he regards as doubtful.

[2]) Length 2½ inches.

[3]) Information from R. E. Chaplin Esq. and Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee.

[4]) *Arch.*, LX (1906), p. 126; *PSA*, XXI (1905-7), p. 207.

[5]) Precisely described as "a grey sort of freestone covered with some kind of vitrification or glazing".

[6]) Shortt, *Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia*, pp. 70-2, pl. IV (3), and *cf.* Shortt, *Sylva Antiqua Iscana*, p. 140; *Bull. soc. roy. d'arch. d'Alexandrie*, XXXIV (1941), pp. 92-4; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, VII, p. 420. The piece is now in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, no. 260.

[7]) The top of a cartouche is indeed visible, but Shortt's reference to the cartouche of Cleopatra, repeated by Porter and Moss, is based on a misunderstanding.

[8]) For the earlier discoveries see the works of Shortt (above n. 6) and Fox, *Roman Exeter*, p. 101; for the excavations of 1945-6 see Fox, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.

[9]) The broken edges are smooth, perhaps indicating secondary use as an amulet. For some observations on the Hathor head as an amulet see *Journ. Warburg & Courtauld Inst.*, XVI (1953), pp. 199-200.

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[1] *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1935-7), p. 412, n. 1. A scarab, of the type with the underside represented, in the Yorkshire Museum, may possibly have come from York, but the provenance is uncertain and there was at one time an Egyptian collection in the museum.

[2] Size 3.3 cm. × 2.6 cm.; also described as soapstone. The identification as jade is almost certainly incorrect (*cf.* Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. Harris, pp. 396-7).

[3] *PSA*, XXIX (1916-17), p. 136; *Arch.*, LXXI (1921), p. 198, fig. 31 (p. 196). Found "10 in. deep, 1 ft. from wall, outside N.W. corner of Room D, 1st. House".

[4] Described as "a turquoise blue composition sometimes called "cyanus" and unmistakably of Egyptian manufacture".

[5] *PSA*, XXI (1905-7), pp. 105-6.

[6] *Cf.* VCH, *Hampshire*, I, p. 306.

[7] *Cf. Atti del I° congresso internat. di preistoria e protostoria mediterranea*, 1950, pp. 315-24. We owe this reference to L. V. Grinsell Esq.

[8] For the even earlier importation of faience beads from the Near East during the second millennium see *Arch.*, LXXXV (1936), pp. 203-52; *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, XXII (1956), pp. 58-61, 78 f.

[9] *Arch.*, XI (1808), p. 430, pl. XIX (6).

Three other scarabs, two "apparently of calcareous stone and burnt basalt" and a third, smaller, "of stone coated with green enamel" (i.e. faience), and inscribed with the name of Amon-Rē, were reported to have been found with five amulets and various "Roman remains" 1) in a bed of gravel on an estate in the suburbs of Gloucester (*GLEVVM*) during the second quarter of the nineteenth century 2). "Similar objects" were alleged to have been found "near the same locality on other occasions" but the genuineness of the discovery must nevertheless remain in doubt. Of the five amulets accompanying the scarabs, one, material unspecified, was a figure of Isis and another, of lapis lazuli, a representation of Neith, while the three remaining, all of "porcelain" (i.e. faience), are described as "the divinity Ptah, or Osiris", "a little figure", and "a small figure of a cat". To these may be added a small greenish glazed faience figure of Bes, of Roman date and somewhat unusual in being two-faced, found in digging in a cottage garden at Sydling St. Nicholas, Dorset 3).

The scarabs and amulets, even if accepted as Roman importations, are of doubtful value as evidence of devotion to the Egyptian deities. Traded by merchants as exotic curios or carried as keepsakes by "tourists" 4), their presence in Britain may well be fortuitous. Similar circumstances could also, indeed, account for the figures of Osiris and other deities, and the finding of these on Roman sites, even if proved, need have no wider significance than the curious discovery of a bronze Osiris in a common grave of the early twelfth century at the Cistercian monastery of St. Mary of Rushen, Isle of Man 5). There is, on the other hand, considerable

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1) "Coins, keys, clasps, &c."

2) *AJ*, VII (1850), pp. 173, 182-3.

3) We are grateful to R. N. R. Peers Esq. and Dr I. E. S. Edwards for information relating to this piece. Mr Peers informs us that a coin of Allectus and a Romano-British bead of blue glass have also been found in the village, within a mile of which there are three Early Iron Age/Romano-British settlements.

4) *Cf. Chronique d'Égypte*, XV (1940), pp. 253-78.

5) *Proc. Isle of Man Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Soc.*, IV, no. 1 (1936), p. 111.

evidence from other parts of the Empire 1) for the direct association of such figures with the Egyptian cults, and the possibility that those alleged to have been found in Britain in fact belonged to devotees of Isis and Serapis, whether civil or military, oriental, Roman, or even native 2), cannot lightly be disregarded 3).

Magical Amulets 4)

Traces of oriental magic in Roman Britain are, as might be expected, comparatively rare, but a few isolated finds of amuletic *lamellae* and gems have been recorded, the nature of the objects being such that they are unlikely to have been worn merely as ornaments.

An almost complete gold *lamella*, 4 inches long and 1 inch wide, was discovered at Caernarvon (*SEGONTIVM*) in 1827, some 20 yards to the south of the fort, in circumstances which are not recorded 5). The inscription, for the most part unintelligible, includes the names 6) ’Αδωναιε, ’Ελωαιε, Σαβαωθ and ’Ιαω, in the form ἀρβαρτιαω 7), as well as references to the sun and moon and perhaps the Egyptian Thoth, and concludes with several lines of magical characters and the words φύλαττε με ’Αλφίανον. Part of a second gold *lamella*, ¾ inch long and 1 inch wide, was found in York (*EBVRACVM*) in 1839, in cutting an arch through the city

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1) See above p. 85, nn. 1-4.

2) *Cf.* below p. 96.

3) *Cf.* in general *Bull. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LV (1955), pp. 177-9; LXI (1962), pp. 49-53.

4) The traditional designation "Gnostic", rejected by Bonner (*Studies in Magical Amulets*, pp. 1-2, 45, 133-5), has been re-assessed by Barb (*Journ. Warburg & Courtauld Inst.*, XVI (1953), pp. 202, 227-8 (nn. 157-8)) with particular reference to an article by Puech (*Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XX (1951), pp. 77-9).

5) *Quarterly Review*, 1828, p. 488; *Arch. Cambrensis*, III (1848), p. 363; *PSA*, XXXI (1918-19), pp. 127-31; Wheeler, *Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales* (*Y Cymmrodor*, XXXIII (1923)), pp. 129-30, fig. 52; *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XI (1935), p. 155. G. C. Boon Esq., who has recently re-examined the piece, kindly confirms the general accuracy of the published transcription but suggests a number of emendations (to be published in *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*).

6) *Cf.* Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, pp. 136, 187.

7) *Cf.* Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, pp. 306-8; *Genava*, XXII (1944), p. 126; *Homm. Deonna*, pp. 67-73, particularly p. 68, n. 8.

wall for the railway at the Old Station 1). Only two lines of the inscription survive on the fragment, the first a jumble of letters and magical symbols and the second reading φνεβεννουθ, possibly a variant of the well known Chnoubis formula 2), but more probably to be interpreted as the Coptic ⲫⲏⲉⲃⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ, "the lord of the gods".

A bloodstone with the common type of the cock-headed anguipede 3) on the obverse and the word 'Ιαω on the reverse was found at Silchester (*CALLEVA ATREBATVM*) in 1899 4), and the familiar figure also occurs on the nicolo bezel of a bronze ring discovered at Great Chesters (*AESICA*), in fill 3 feet above the floor of the western guardroom of the south gate 5). A blue-stone "with "eastern characters" (possibly Abraxas)" is reported from Camerton, Somerset 6), and a carnelian intaglio in a gold setting, found at Castlesteads (*VXELLODVNVM*) is engraved with the device of a triple head with feet, the masks being those of a cock, an eagle, and a horse 7).

A triangular relief with the figure of a cock and other symbols, from Chesterholm (*VINDOLANDA*), is of doubtful interpretation 8), but "Gnostic" influence may perhaps be recognised in a mosaic of fourth century date from the Roman villa at Brading,

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1) Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, p. 133, pl. XVII (15); *Yorkshire Philosophical Soc., Proceedings*, 1847-54, pp. 96, 106; *Handbook, York*, pp. 122-3; RCHM, *Eburacum*, p. 133 (139), pl. 65.

2) *Cf.* Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, pp. 56-7, 199.

3) For the type see Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, pp. 123-39, 280-4, where the traditional designation "Abrasax" is questioned, and *cf.* also *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIV (1951), pp. 61-4; *Syria*, XXIX (1952), pp. 156-7. The identity of the figure has been further discussed by Barb in *Homm. Deonna*, pp. 76-81.

4) *Arch.*, LVII (1900), p. 111; VCH, *Hampshire*, I, p. 284.

5) *PSA Newcastle*, VI (1893-4), p. 244; *AA*, XVII (1895), pp. xxvii, xxx; *Arch.*, LV (1896), p. 179, fig. 3 (p. 180); *AA*, XXIV (1902), p. 42; XXXIX (1961), p. 31 (91).

6) VCH, *Somerset*, I, pp. 292-3.

7) Lysons, ***Magna** Britannia, Cumberland*, p. clxxxvii, pl. opp. (2-4); *LS*, 477. We are grateful to Dr A. A. Barb for pointing out that this piece cannot properly be described as a magical amulet, but belongs to the class of *grylloi* (*cf. Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, III, pp. 1065-6, particularly fig. 1358).

8) *LS*, 270; *MMM*, II, 320.

Isle of Wight. Of the nine original panels only five now remain, in one of which a cock-headed figure clad in a knee-length, long-sleeved tunic stands before a small building on a mound approached by steps, to the right of which are two winged griffins ¹). That the figure is related to "Abrasax" is not impossible, although the absence of the characteristic serpentine feet and essential attributes ²) and the association with the *aedicula* and the griffins seem to necessitate an alternative explanation ³).

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¹) *JBAA*, XXXVI (1880), pp. 365-6; Nicholson, *A Descriptive Account of the Recently Discovered Roman Villa near Brading, Isle of Wight*, pp. 11 f., pl. opp. p. 8; *The Antiquary*, III (1881), pp. 3-8; Price and Hilton-Price, *A Description of the Remains of Roman Buildings at Moreton, near Brading, Isle of Wight*, p. 8, pl. opp.; VCH, *Hampshire*, I, p. 314, fig. 22; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 202 (197), pl. 231.

²) *Cf.* Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 123.

³) *Cf.* Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 202.

Note. For the recent discovery of a haematite childbirth amulet, to be published in *Ant.J*, XLIV (1964), see *JRS*, LIV (1964), pp. 180-1 (18), pl. XV (3,4).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CULTS OF ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA

Whereas the distribution of Dolichene material in Roman Britain is clearly indicative of its predominantly military appeal, the occurrence of monuments connected with the more exotic cults of Asia Minor and Syria appears, as might be expected, to be largely coincidental with the presence of oriental nationals, whether civil or military. At Carvoran, the devotees of the Dea Syria and Dea Hammia were undoubtedly eastern auxiliaries, in London it will have been eastern merchants such as patronised the Southwark Iseum 1) who favoured Cybele and Attis, while at Corbridge the worshippers to whom the priestess Diodora ministered may have been either. Both Diodora herself and the man Pulcher were evidently *peregrini*, and the Palmyrene Barathes 2) who married and settled in Britain and whose tombstone was found at Corbridge 3) may well be typical of the expatriates 4) who adhered to the cult of Herakles and Astarte or to that of the Magna Mater, also attested from the same site 5). That any of the Asiatic or Syrian cults should have gained converts among the native population seems most improbable, although one may wonder whether occasionally individuals, such as Regina, the Catuvellaunian wife of Barathes 6), may not have embraced one of the alien creeds.

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1) See above pp. 79-80. For priests who served both Isis and the Magna Mater *cf. CIL*, IX, 6099; XI, 3123; XIV, 429, and for a joint shrine *CIL*, V, 4007.

2) On the status of Barathes see *AA*, XII (1935), pp. 219-20; XXI (1943), p. 203, n. 263. It is evident that a Palmyrene sculptor also worked in the area, probably at South Shields (*ARBEIA*) (*cf. AA*, XXXVII (1959), pp. 203-10).

3) *AA*, VIII (1912), pp. 147, 188-90, fig. 12; *PSA*, XXIV (1911-12), pp. 268-9, fig. 3; *EE*, IX, 1153a.

4) *Cf.* in general *AA*, XII (1935), pp. 219-22.

5) For an agate gem with a crude representation of the Ephesian Diana, also found at Corbridge, see *AA*, XXXIX (1961), p. 32 (9).

6) For her sepulchral monument, found at South Shields (*ARBEIA*), see

Of all these cults, the only one which seems to have had more than localised appeal is that of Cybele and Attis, and even in this case the material is hardly indicative of any widespread popularity. The use of the mourning Attis on funerary monuments or of the head of Cybele in a mosaic may be no more than symbolic, and indeed, apart from the fragmentary Corbridge altar and that of Tranquil(l)a Severa from Carrawburgh, only the evidence from London is at all suggestive.

No shrine or precinct of Cybele has as yet been discovered in Britain, though a "triangular" temple excavated at St. Albans (*VERVLAMIVM*) in 1933 [1]), some 200 feet within the south-east gate of the town and immediately to the north of the triumphal arch on Watling Street, was at the time of its discovery thought to be connected with the cult. The attribution, suggested partly by the shape and partly by the discovery of seeds of the Italian pine (*Pinus Pinea* L.) associated with some of the pottery deposits scattered throughout the building, is, however, far from certain [2]), and the form of the temple seems in fact to be no more than a consequence of its situation at a fork in the road between Watling Street and one of the streets in the grid plan. The building was apparently erected in the early years of the second century with a final restoration towards the end of the third, and its layout is suggestive of a Romano-Celtic shrine adapted to fit the triangular site available.

A dedicatory tablet of yellow sandstone, recording the restoration of a ruined building, perhaps a Metroön, was found at Chester (*DEVA*) in 1938, built upside down into a cellar wall in Watergate Street [3]). Originally attributed to the Mother Goddesses

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PSA, VII (1876-8), pp. 479-80; *JBAA*, XXXIV (1878), pp. 489-95; *AJ*, XXXVI (1879), pp. 157-9; *EE*, IV, 718a; *JRS*, II (1912), pp. 144-7, pl. VII; *AA*, XXXVII (1959), pp. 203-10, pl. XXXI (1); Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 160 (87), pl. 85.

[1]) *JRS*, XXIV (1934), p. 208; *Trans. St. Albans & Herts. Architect. & Arch. Soc.*, IV (1933-5), pp. 23-6; Wheeler, *Verulamium: A Belgic and Two Roman Cities*, pp. 113-20, pl. XXXIV.

[2]) *Cf.* Richmond, *Roman Britain*, 1st ed., p. 191; 2nd ed., p. 191.

[3]) Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, p. 14 (7a), pl. IV: . . .]MATRE| . . .]OPVS QVOD | [CONLAPSVM IN RVI] NAM RESTITVTVM EST.

(*Matr*[*i*]*b*(*us*)) 1) the stone when cleaned was seen to read *Matre* 2) which may stand for either *Matri* or *Matribus* 3), suggesting in the former case a dedication to the Magna Mater 4).

The possibility that a shrine of the Magna Mater may have existed at Corbridge (*CORSTOPITVM*) is suggested by the discovery there of an altar and the upper part of a ram's-head corbel. The altar, of which only the upper portion survives, was found in the east granary (site vii) in 1913 and is dedicated *Deae Pantheae* 5), the identity of the goddess with the Phrygian Magna Mater being indicated by what remains of the decoration. On either side is the inclined head of a mourning youth in Phrygian cap, the figures originally having stood within rectangular panels, while in a niche at the back is the head of a youthful Hermes or Mercury identified by his winged cap. The mourning youths are clearly the shepherd Attis and Mēn, the Phrygian Moon-God, and Hermes will here be Hermes *Hegemonios* who guided the soul through the mysteries of the cult, the altar, ascribed to the third century, thus providing an "exceptionally interesting artistic epitome of the *Magna Mater* cult, in a late stage of its development" 6). The corbel, "one of the most vigorous pieces of carving at Corbridge and .... difficult to place among ordinary conventional ornament", is of uncertain origin but its ram's-head form is, as Prof. Richmond has pointed out, curiously reminiscent of the

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1) *JRS*, XXIX (1939), p. 225 (1).

2) *JRS*, XL (1950), p. 115 (4); *Journ. Chester & North Wales Architect. Arch. & Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII (1951), p. 176, pl. IX (2).

3) For a somewhat similar confusion compare the dedication on a small altar also found at Chester in 1862 (*CIL*, VII, 168a; *EE*, IV, p. 198), where DEAE MATRIB is presumably for *Deab*(*us*) *Matrib*(*us*) (Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, p. 14 (8), pl. II—with references to earlier readings).

4) Compare, however, a fragment of a cornice found in Budge Row, Walbrook, in the City of London in 1855 (*PSA*, IV(1856-9), p. 113; *CIL*,VII, 20), where the damaged inscription MATR[....... |VICINIA DE SVO RES[TITVIT ... is clearly to be restored as *Matribus*. The genuineness of this discovery has been doubted (*cf. CR*, V (1891), pp. 240-1).

5) *AA*, XI (1914), pp. 279, 299, 306-7, figs. 2-4 (p. 280); XXI (1943), pp. 196-9, pl. IX (1-3). Two letters, B, P or R, followed by F, are cut on the capital, while DEAE | PANTHEAE, in good lettering, survives on the die.

6) *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 198.

criobolium and it is not impossible that it belonged to the decoration of a shrine of the goddess [1]).

An altar from Carrawburgh (*BROCOLITIA*) [2]) which may also be attributed to the Magna Mater was first noticed, and removed, by Warburton in 1716 [3]) and later described by Horsley [4]), who remarked that it had no focus and that the letters were "strong and well cut, tho' involved and connected". Both Horsley and Hodgson[5]) thought, however, that the dedication was to the *Dii Manes*, and although the true connection was recognised by Hübner [6]), the correct expansion of the first line of the inscription was first suggested by Graillot [7]).

Representations of Cybele herself are few, and of doubtful significance, the most spectacular alleged example, the famous statue from Chesters, being now recognised as belonging to the Dolichene cult [8]), while an unusual relief from the same site [9]), attributed to Cybele by Horsley [10]), has been explained by Bruce as "a scene in the amphitheatre"[11]). A terracotta head of Cybele with mural crown was, however, discovered in Paul Street, Finsbury, London [12]), and the report of the excavations at Corbridge in 1909 refers to "parts of two "Gaulish" statuettes in white clay, one of Cybele, the other of Mercury, both executed in good classical style"[13]). A bronze jug, the handle of which terminates in a female bust, described as Cybele, was found in Threadneedle

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[1]) *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 199, pl. IX (5).

[2]) *LS*, 154; *CIL*, VII, 618; Haverfield, *Cat. Durham*, p. 34 (XLII): D(EAE) M(ATRI) D(EVM) | TRANQVIL|A SEVERA | PRO SE ET SVI|S V.S.L.M.

[3]) Warburton, *A New Map of the County of Northumberland.*

[4]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 218, XXXIII. "The stone was removed by Mr *Warburton* to *Hexham*, and afterwards to *Durham* where it now remains".

[5]) Hodgson, *Hist. Northumb.*, pt. II, vol. III, p. 184, XXXVII, 4.

[6]) *CIL*, VII, 618: reading *D(eae) M(agnae) [I]d(eae)*.

[7]) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, p. 472, n. 3, and *cf. AA*, XXI (1943), p. 199, n. 242.

[8]) See above pp. 63-5.

[9]) See above p. 54.

[10]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, pp. 215-16, XXII.

[11]) *LS*, 150.

[12]) *Cat. Guildhall Museum*, p. 70 (47).

[13]) *AA*, VI (1910), p. 271. The figure of "Cybele" may possibly have been a Mother Goddess.

Street, City of London [1]), and a female head with mural crown, which may be Cybele, occurs, surrounded by geometrical motifs, on a mosaic floor of the villa at Whatley, Somerset [2]).

A well known statue (Pl. XX, 1), apparently of Attis, in coarse oolitic limestone and about half life size, was found in Bevis Marks, London, in 1849 [3]) and only saved from oblivion by the antiquary Roach Smith [4]). The figure, which lacks the legs below the knees and the right arm below the elbow, is that of a youth with curly hair, in a Phrygian cap, tunic and cloak, and bearing a bow in his left hand. Of provincial, perhaps Gaulish, workmanship, it may possibly have come from a funerary monument [5]), and the identification as Attis, if not beyond question, is plausible.

The upper part of a second figure usually identified as Attis, of Cotswold oolite and a little under half life size, was ploughed up about 1875 on the site of the Rudge Farm villa at Froxfield, Wiltshire [6]), whence came the famous Rudge Cup discovered in the seventeenth century [1]). The torso, though badly weathered, is complete from navel to head, but the arms are broken off above the elbow. The face is slightly smiling, with upturned eyes, and the hair, which falls to the shoulders in ringlets, is gathered into a knot on top. The characteristic Phrygian cap is lacking, and the treatment of the hair, together with the presence on the right arm of what appears to be an armlet, suggests that the piece, although flat-chested, is in fact a Venus [2]), as indeed it was described at the time of its discovery [3]).

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[1]) *London in Roman Times*, p. 116 (A. 27337), pl. LII (B, 2). The bust lacks any of the distinctive attributes of Cybele, and the identification is extremely doubtful. The goddess represented on the head of a bone pin in the same museum, and also described as Cybele, is in fact Isis (see above p. 80).

[2]) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1838, pt. I, p. 435; 1839, pt. II, p. 77; VCH, *Somerset*, I, p. 317, fig. 77. For a similar head on a mosaic at Brantingham, Yorkshire, *cf. JRS*, LIII (1963), p. 131, pls. XI, XII (3).

[3]) Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, p. 1, pl. I; *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 47-8, pl. V; VCH, *London*, I, p. 88; RCHM, *Roman London*, pl. 14; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, pp. 27-8, fig. 20; 1951/58, p. 55, pl. XX (9).

[4]) *JBAA*, V (1850), p. 90. "This figure had been hawked about for sale for several days, and ultimately carried away a considerable distance from the city, when Mr Smith accidentally heard of it and reclaimed it. The Commissioners of Sewers, without making any approach to Mr Smith, resorted to the extraordinary proceeding of summoning him to the Mansion House, before the chief magistrate. Mr Smith stated that he feared the Commissioners of Sewers had been advised to act so discourteously and unjustly by persons whose position and education should have taught them better". See also Smith, *Retrospections*, II, pp. 207-8.

[5]) The Bishopsgate region was one of London's cemetery areas, and fragments of sepulchral monuments were used in later repairs to this section of the city wall, notably the Camomile Street bastion (*cf.* Price, *On a Bastion of the London Wall, or, Excavations in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate* — with mention of the Bevis Marks statue on p. 59).

[6]) *Trans. Newbury & District Field Club*, IV (1886-95), p. 201; *PSA*, XV

A representation of Attis, playing the Pan pipes, has recently been identified on the front of a limestone altar discovered, unstratified, on the Bon Marché site at Gloucester (*GLEVVM*) [4]). An earlier find also from Gloucester, variously described as Attis or a priest of Cybele or the Magna Dea, is more probably to be interpreted as a Mithraic rock-birth [5]), and a figure in low relief on a column found at Wroxeter (*VIROCONIVM*) [6]), accepted as Attis by Graillot [7]), is in fact Bacchus.

An interesting bronze statuette of Attis [8]) was found at Barnes in 1837, in gravel dredged from the Thames at London Bridge and

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(1893-5), p. 87; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, p. 28; *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (1932-4), pp. 108-9, fig. 4; LIII (1949-50), p. 332, pl. opp.; VCH, *Wiltshire*, I (i), p. 71 (2).

[1]) *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (1932-4), p. 109. "The site at which it (*sc.* the Attis) was found seems to be on the Ramsbury side of Rudge in a flat field where squared stones sometines turn up. This is the spot described by Hoare from which came the famous Rudge Cup now preserved at Alnwick Castle".

[2]) We are grateful to Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee for drawing our attention to these points and for suggesting the identification.

[3]) See *Wiltshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (1932-4), p. 109 and the first two refs. cited above p. 100, n. 6. The presence of a statue of Attis on a villa site would in any case be difficult to explain.

[1]) *JRS*, LII (1962), pp. 180-1, pl. XXIV (3); Rhodes, *Cat. Gloucester*, pp. 21-2 (8). For the site see *JRS*, XLIX (1959), p. 126, fig. 21; L (1960), p. 230.

[5]) See above pp. 45-6.

[6]) Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, III, p. 29, pl. VII; Anderson, *The Roman City of Uriconium*, pl. VIII (7); VCH, *Shropshire*, I, p. 253, fig. 23; *Trans. Shropshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XLIV (1927-8), p. xviii.

[7]) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, p. 472, n. 3.

[8]) Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 69-70, pl. XIX; *Arch.*, XXVIII (1840), p. 40, pl. VIII; RCHM, *Roman London*, p. 194, n. 3. The piece passed to the British Museum, but cannot now be found.

used to repair the river towpath [1]). The figure, which like others from the same source, appears to have been deliberately broken, is that of a youth with Phrygian cap and wearing a short tunic and trousers, open at the front about the waist and buttoned from knee to ankle. In his right hand he carries a bunch of grapes, and in his left what seems to have been a *cornucopiae,* and the association with fertility is further emphasised by the unusual representation of the god as ithyphallic.

Also recovered about the same time as the Attis, though from the bed of the Thames at London Bridge itself, was a bronze statuette [2]), originally described as a priest or devotee of Cybele, and subsequently as Ganymede, but which seems in fact to represent an athlete [3]), while a bronze implement commonly attributed to the cult of Cybele and Attis was taken from the bed of the river at the same point three years later [4]).

A small bronze head with Phrygian cap, found in ploughing near Mildenhall, Suffolk, and perhaps of north-Gaulish origin, is probably to be identified as Attis [5]). Hollow-cast, with inlaid eyes of blue glass, the piece has evidently been broken from a statuette, and an alternative Mithraic attribution is thus unlikely since small bronzes of the Persian deity are rare. For a similar reason a second bronze head with Phrygian cap from Colchester (*CAMVLODVNVM*) may also be interpreted as Attis [6]), and Attis seems likewise to be intended by a figure carved in relief on a jet plaque of native workmanship from the villa site at Castle Hill, Whitton, near Ipswich, Suffolk [7]). The youth, of whom only the upper part survives, wears the Phrygian cap and a cloak or tunic, and holds a pomegranate in his raised right hand. A seated figure in Phrygian cap, cloaked and holding a shepherd's crook, depicted as one of eight gods on a mosaic floor of the villa at Pitney, Somerset [1]), is perhaps also Attis.

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[1]) *Cf.* Smith, *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, p. 5 (13); RCHM, *Roman London*, p. 194, n. 3.

[2]) Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 69, pl. XVII; *Arch.*, XXVIII (1840), p. 38, pl. IV; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, p. 89; 1951/58, p. 54, pl. XVII (17).

[3]) We are grateful to Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee for this identification.

[4]) See below pp. 109-12. (Appendix).

[5]) Ashmolean Museum, no. 1927.564: *PSA*, XIV (1891-3), p. 155; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 145 (39), pl. 39, and see above p. 49.

[6]) Ashmolean Museum, no. 1927.573: see above p. 49. A small bronze bust from the Willingham Fen hoard (*JRS*, XIII (1923), p. 94, pl. IV), described as "probably Attis or some other oriental deity", is questionable.

[7]) *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.*, XXI (1931-3), p. 254, pl. opp. p. 248, fig. 55; Toynbee, *Art in R.B.*, p. 184 (136), pl. 152, and see above p. 49.

Figures of the mourning Attis from sepulchral monuments are comparatively common in Britain [2]), perhaps the most typical being a gritstone relief from York (*EBVRACVM*), found in the burial area of The Mount, on the corner of Park Street, in 1927 and evidently one of a pair [3]) (Pl. XX, 2). Within a niche is a figure of Attis in Phrygian dress resting his head upon his left hand in an attitude of grief, and half supporting his weight upon the *pedum* which he holds across his body with his right. The lower part of the stone and the top left hand corner are missing, but the extant portion is in good condition, and the carving of the surface is still crisp.

Of other analogous figures, two [4]) loosely identified as Mithraic dadophori have already been described in that connection, namely those from Hulme, Manchester (*MAMVCIVM*) [5]) and Wroxeter (*VIROCONIVM*) [6]), and reference has also been made to three somewhat similar pieces from Chester (*DEVA*), one at least of which is an Attis, though not exactly conforming to the common type [7]).

From Chester [8]) too came other monumental fragments with figures in Phrygian dress which are perhaps to be identified with the mourning Attis, notably a block from a tomb found in the north wall in 1891-2, on which is part of a cloaked figure leaning on a small

[1]) VCH, *Somerset*, I, p. 327, fig. 84.

[2]) Pine cones and figures of lions rampant or crouching over their prey, often a ram's head, are also quite common, but (*pace* Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, pp. 401-2. 440-2) their significance is purely funerary.

[3]) *JRS*, XVII (1927), p. 190; *Yorkshire Philosophical Soc., Proceedings*, 1928, p. 7, pl. I; RCHM, *Eburacum*, pp. 95, 132 (124), pl. 62.

[4]) For a third figure, which has been identified both as Cautopates and a mourning Attis, but is almost certainly neither, see above p. 49.

[5]) See above pp. 49-50.

[6]) See above p. 50.

[7]) See above pp. 44-5.

[8]) For Syrians at Chester *cf.* Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, pp. 12-13 (5), pl. III; p. 23 (36), pl. XII.

pedestal in an attitude of mourning or Bacchic contemplation 1). Portions of two corresponding door-jambs from a circular tomb-monument recovered from the north wall in 1887 preserve the middle thirds of two mourning figures 2), and the damaged base of a tombstone discovered at the same time has the inscribed panel supported by a figure in cloak, tunic and Phrygian cap, clearly one of a pair in the original design 3). The left hand top corner of a funerary relief also found in 1887 in the north wall shows a youth lying dead or dying beneath a tree but the death of Adonis rather than that of Attis seems to be intended 4).

Traces of other oriental cults have also been found in Britain, principally at two sites in the region of Hadrian's Wall, Carvoran (*MAGNIS*) and Corbridge (*CORSTOPITVM*).

At Carvoran, the only site at which evidence for the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus has so far been found 5), the presence of Syrian auxiliaries will also account for dedications to the Dea Hammia and the Dea Syria. A small altar to the Dea Hammia 6) was first recorded by Swinhow in 1752 7) as one of two "met with at the farmhouse at Carrvoran, at or near which they were found a few years since". The stone he describes as "of a very coarse grit" and the letters as "rudely cut", but the inscription itself he notes as "curious and well worth observing, if it be only for the sake of the word *Hammia*, which is not to be met with in any other". An altar to the Dea Syria 8), with elaborately carved capital, was found at an even earlier date and is first mentioned by Camden who saw it at Melkrig 9). Although already damaged, the inscription was then

1) Wright and Richmond, *Cat. Chester*, p. 51 (133), pl. XXXIII.

2) *Op. cit.*, p. 53 (154-5), pl. XXXVIII.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 28 (50), pl. XVI.

4) *Op. cit.*, p. 52 (140), pl. XXXIV.

5) See above pp. 68-9.

6) *LS*, 304; *CIL*, VII, 750: DE(A)E HA|MMI(AE) | SABI | . .]Ẹ (or F̣) — the name may possibly be SABI[NV]Ṣ.

7) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1752, p. 108.

8) *AJ*, XII (1855), p. 225; *LS*, 303; *CIL*, VII, 758: DEAE SVRI|AE SVB CALP|VRNIO AG[R]|ICOLA LEG(ATO) AVG(VSTI) | PR(O) PR(AETORE) A. LICINIVS | [C]LEMENS PRAEF(ECTVS) | [CO]H(ORTIS) I [H]A[M]IOR[VM]. The reading is based on that of Camden (below n. 9).

9) Camden, *Britannia*, 1600, p. 719. "Hanc etiam mutilatam aram inde

more or less legible, but by the time the piece was seen by Horsley[1]) the last four lines had completely disappeared[2]). Neither Camden nor Horsley is clear as to the original provenance of the altar, but its association with Carvoran is indicated by the reference to the *Cohors I Hamiorum*, while the mention of Calpurnius Agricola indicates a date about A.D. 162[3]).

A second altar dedicated to the Dea Syria[4]) was found at Catterick (*CATARACTONIVM*) on Dere Street in the North Riding of Yorkshire, early in the nineteenth century[5]). Nothing is known of the circumstances of the discovery, but the reference to Thornborough identifies the site as close to that on which excavation has recently been undertaken[6]). The capital was missing when the piece was found, and the inscription appears to have been difficult to read, though the dedication seems certain.

From Carvoran also comes the well known syncretistic inscription in iambic verse found in the north-east corner of the fort in 1816[7]). Inscribed in clear if somewhat inelegant lettering, based on rustic capitals, without ligatures or contractions, on a rectangular slab 3 feet 4 inches high and 2 feet 2 inches broad and with a plain border, the poem[8]) is dedicated by one Marcus Caecilius Dona-

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allatam ad Melkrig viculum legimus". In the edition of 1637, p. 801, Holland translates this and adds ". . . where women now beat their buckes on it".

[1]) Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 226, LIII.

[2]) Speed's map of Northumberland (published as *Northumberland*, 1610, and incorporated in the 1611 and subsequent editions of *In The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*) shows the inscription twice, once as in Camden, and once complete save for the initial C of the last line.

[3]) Compare part of an altar from the same site (*LS*, 327; *CIL*, VII, 773) and a fragmentary inscription (*LS*, 328; *CIL*, VII, 774; *AA*, XVII (1920), p. 36, though *cf.* Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, p. 55 (189)).

[4]) *CIL*, VII, 272: DEAE | SYRIA|E ARA | SAIO | B F (*sic*).

[5]) Whitaker, *History of Richmondshire*, II, p. 22, with woodcut on p. 23. ". . . Thornborough, where, very lately, an altar in the rude characters of the Lower Empire was casually turned up . . .".

[6] See *Yorkshire Arch. Journ.*, XXXIX (1956-8), pp. 224 f.; *JRS*, L (1960) pp. 217-18, fig. 20—on which the site of Thornborough farm is shown in relation to the fort and town.

[7]) *AA*, I (1822), pp. 107-11, pl. IV (1); I (1857), p. 231; XII (1887), pp. 28-9; XXI (1899), pp. 289-92; XVII (1920), pp. 36-8; *LS*, 306; *CIL*, VII, 759; Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, pp. 22-3 (55); *Anth. Lat.*, II (i), *Carm. Lat. Epigr.*, no. 24.

[8]) IMMINET LEONI VIRGO CAELESTI SITV

tianus, a tribune with the substantive rank of prefect by the gift of the Emperor. Ostensibly the verses are in honour of the Virgo Caelestis, here identified with the Mater Divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres and the Dea Syria ¹), but an apotheosis of Julia Domna was almost certainly intended by the dedicator ²), and, as has been suggested, the lines may well refer to a statue of the Empress depicted with the attributes of the divinity ³).

A dedication to Sol Invictus found at Corbridge ⁴) has already been mentioned in connection with Mithraism ⁵). Discovered in 1911 "in the roadway of A.D. 369 in front of site xi", the tablet is dated to about A.D. 162 and seems to have been overthrown in the destruction of A.D. 197, the erasure of the dedication perhaps dating to A.D. 193. In its present state the stone is 5½ feet long, and, with the flying Victories which originally supported the *peltae* flanking the panel, must once have been almost twice that, implying a shrine which "cannot itself have been insignificant" ⁶). An altar found by Stukeley at Haltwhistle may also have been dedicated to Sol Invictus but little is known of the piece, and a Mithraic attribution is possible ⁷).

The Syrian cult of Herakles of Tyre and Astarte is attested only at Corbridge where two complementary altars with dedications in

SPICIFERA IVSTI INVENTRIX VRBIVM CONDITRIX
EX QVIS MVNERIBVS NOSSE CONTIGIT DEOS
ERGO EADEM MATER DIVVM PAX VIRTVS CERES
DEA SYRIA LANCE VITAM ET IVRA PENSITANS
IN CAELO VISVM SYRIA SIDVS EDIDIT
LIBYAE COLENDVM INDE CVNCTI DIDICIMVS
ITA INTELLEXIT NVMINE INDVCTVS TVO
MARCVS CAECILIVS DONATIANVS MILITANS
TRIBVNVS IN PRAEFECTO DONO PRINCIPIS

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¹) *Cf.* Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, pp. 148-50; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XI (1900), pp. 58-60. For a priest who served both the Magna Mater and the Dea Syria *cf. CIL*, IX, 6099.

²) *Cf. AJ*, XCVIII (1941), pp. 44 f., 53.

³) *Cf.* Collingwood, *Cat. Newcastle*, pp. 22-3 (55).

⁴) *JRS*, I (1911) p. 231; *PSA*, XXIV (1911-12), p. 270, pl. opp.; *AA*, VIII (1912), pp. 186-7, fig. 10; XXI (1943), pp. 210-13, pl. X (B): SOLI INVICTO | VEXILLATIO | LEG(IONIS) VI VIC(TRICIS) P(IAE) F(IDELIS) F(ECIT) | SVB CVRA SEX. | CALPVRNI AGRICO|LAE LEG(ATI) AVG(VSTI) PR(O) PR(AETORE).

⁵) See above p. 50.

⁶) *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 211.

⁷) See above p. 40.

crude Greek hexameters were discovered during the first half of the eighteenth century [1]. Although not exactly similar in size [2] or subsidiary decoration, the two stones are undoubtedly a pair, the mouldings of the capitals being identical and the lettering of the inscriptions similarly distinctive. The altar to Herakles of Tyre [3], apparently adapted to receive holy water or alms in the mediaeval church at Corbridge, was first noted in the churchyard in 1702 [4] and was there recorded by Horsley [5]. The smaller of the two, it is somewhat damaged, particularly at the base, and lacks both bolsters and focus as a result of its Christian conversion; on the right side of the die is a wreath and on the left a bull's head and knife. The companion altar to Astarte [6], found about fifty years later in the vicar's glebe [7] is of cream coloured sandstone and comparatively well preserved. On the left of the die is a jug, and on the right a *patera*, and both the bolsters and focus survive intact, the latter carved in the form of a two-handled metal dish.

The date and ultimate provenance of the altars is uncertain, nor are there any other monuments from the site which can definitely be assigned to the cult [8], the statue of a "priestess" recovered from the ballast of the fourth century road south of site xi having lately been recognised as Juno Regina [9]. As at Carvoran, the establishment of the cult is probably to be explained by the presence at

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[1] *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 199-203.

[2] See *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 200, n. 247.

[3] *LS*, 636; *CIL*, VII, p. 97; *CIG*, 6806; *IG*, XIV, 2554; B.M., *R.B. Guide*, 1922, pp. 21-2; NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, X, p. 497 (2): ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ | ΤΥΡΙω | ΔΙΟΔωRA | ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑ

[4] *Philosophical Transactions*, XXIII (1702), p. 1132, pl. opp.; XXVII (1710), p. 292.

[5] Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, pp. 246-7, CVI, and *cf.* Stukeley, *Carausius*, II, pp. 160-1; *Arch.*, III (1786), pp. 324-31.

[6] *LS*, 637; *CIL*, VII, p. 97; *CIG*, 6807; *IG*, XIV, 2553; *Trans. C. & W.*, XV (1899), p. 471 (22); Haverfield, *Cat. Carlisle*, p. 3 (3); NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, X, pp. 496-7 (1): ΑCΤΑΡΤΗC | ΒωΜΟΝ Μ'|ΕCΟΡΑC ΠΟΥΛΧΕΡ Μ'|ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

[7] *Cf.* Stukeley, *Carausius*, II, pp. 160-1; *Arch.*, III (1786), pp. 324-31. The earliest reference to the piece dates from 1754 (*cf.* NCH, *Hist. Northumb.*, X, pp. 496-7 (1)).

[8] But *cf.* *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 202, n. 260.

[9] *AA*, XXI (1943), pp. 156-8.

Corbridge of oriental auxiliaries, though in this case the nature of the unit can only be inferred ¹).

In connection with the worship of the Tyrian Herakles, mention may also be made of an interesting statue of gilded bronze probably found at or near Birdoswald (*CAMBOGLANNA*) ²). Of second to third century date, and of foreign, possibly Gaulish, origin, the piece represents a rather refined Hercules clad in a short tunic and with his right hand raised to brandish a club, now lost. An unusual feature is the lion's skin cast round the shoulders with the mask covering the god's curly hair, and an association with the Syrian cult is perhaps not impossible ³).

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¹) *Cf.* *AA*, XXI (1943), p. 203.

²) *Arch.*, LV (1896), pp. 199-202; B.M., *R. B.Guide*, 1922, pp. 87-8; 1951/58, p. 54, pl. XIII; Richmond, *Roman Britain in Pictures*, pl. opp. p. 16.

³) Oikonomides' suggestion (*Archaeology*, XV (1962), pp. 13-15) that the piece represents Mithridates VI of Pontus in the character of Hercules-Dionysus will hardly account for its presence on the Wall.

APPENDIX

A bronze implement for which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been suggested, but which may be connected with the cult of Cybele and Attis, was found in the bed of the Thames near London Bridge in 1840 1). It consists of two similar shanks 11½ inches (28.75 cm.) long, and straight 2) save at the upper ends which curve out and back in a semi-ellipse and were originally joined at the top 3). For 6 inches (15 cm.) below the curved portion each shank, at this point about 1/2 inch wide and 1/4 inch thick, is grooved on the inner surface with 36 serrations, which do not interlock, and below this again each is reduced in width, bevelled on the edges, and pierced by a rectangular hole through which a bar may once have passed to connect the two 4). The shanks terminate in lion masks and are further decorated on the outer surfaces of the serrated portions with a pair of bull heads and busts of the eight deities of the week 5), and, on the crest of the curved part, with a pair of

---

1) British Museum, no. 56.7-1.33: Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, II, p. 60; *Arch.*, XXX (1844), pp. 548-50, pl. XXIV; *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, pp. 12-13 (29); *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 72-3, pl. XXI; *MMM*, II, 317; VCH, *London*, I, p. 110, fig. 47; *JRS*, I (1911), pp. 167-8, pl. XXI; RCHM, *Roman London*, pp. 43, 194, pl. 4; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, pp. 86-7, pl. VI; 1951/58, p. 60, pl. XXIV (1); Home, *Roman London*, 1926, p. 88; 1948, p. 206; *Proc. Royal Soc. Medicine*, XIX (1926), History of Medicine pp. 95-110, figs. 1-2; Brend, *Sacrifice to Attis*, p. 325 (App. I) and frontispiece.

2) The serrated portion of both shanks, particularly the left, is now slightly concave, and both are also bent in the other plane, but this, like the sharper deviation in the narrow part of the right shank, is almost certainly the result of wear.

3) The present broken ends cannot have been hinged together directly since this would not allow the serrated surfaces to be brought into contact, and a separate hinge jointed into and extending each shank is unlikely except as a repair. It seems probable therefore that the two were linked by a short independent bar hinged at both ends (*cf.* below p. 110, n.6).

4) The narrow portions give the appearance of handles, but are too short to have afforded a grip. Signs of wear at the holes and the fact that the right "handle" is badly bent suggest a movable device which could be tightened.

5) *I.e.* on the left, from bottom to top: Saturn-Sol-Luna-Mars and on

horse heads and two more busts, apparently of Attis and Cybele [1]). The implement shows considerable signs of wear: the shanks are bent, the right shank has been broken and mended just above the bull's head, the joint at the top is broken and partly missing, and whatever passed through the holes in the lower part of the shanks is lost [2]).

The piece, with its elaborate decoration, has no close parallel, though what seems to be a more homely variant, somewhat smaller, was found at Augst in 1830 [3]), and a single shank from Alise (Côte-d'Or) [4]) may possible be half of another analogous instrument [5]). An apparently similar object is also represented on one of the panels of a doorstone from Eskişehir in Asia Minor [6]), together

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the right, from top to bottom: Mercury-Jupiter-Venus-Fortuna (or ? Ceres). For other examples of these deities in British contexts see Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, II, p. 59, pl. XXI; VCH, *Hampshire*, I, p. 308, fig. 18; *Ant. J*, V (1925), p. 282; *JBAA*, IV (1849), pp. 63-5; B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, pp. 20-1, and compare also Walters, *Cat. of the Silver Plate in the B.M.*, pp. 9-10 (33), pl. V.

[1]) The position of these busts (which face to the front, not outwards like the rest) is such as to restrict the maximum opening of the implement.

[2]) The damage to the joint and the loss of any possible connecting bar may be the result of deliberate breakage rather than wear.

[3]) Historisches Museum Basel, no. 1907.1505: Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 451; *Proc. Royal Soc. Medicine*, XIX (1926), History of Medicine p. 98, fig. 5; Staehelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, 3rd ed., p. 558, n. 4. The shanks are 20 cm. long and are joined by a single hinge which limits the opening; the serrated portion accounts for 8.5 cm. of the total length and has 16 serrations which cannot be brought into contact; the short "handles" are not pierced.

[4]) Reinach, *Catalogue illustré du musée des antiquités nationales . . . St. Germain-en-Laye*, I, p. 287 (no. 50823), fig. 284. No exact measurement is given, but from the scale the shank appears to be only slightly smaller than those of the London piece; the hinge was single, there are apparently 12 serrations, and the "handle", which is bent outwards almost at right angles, is not pierced.

[5]) An iron implement of somewhat similar appearance was seen in the Museo Kircheriano by Petrie (*Tools and Weapons*, p. 62 (185), pl. LXXII (243)) who describes it as a mould (? for coins), though how he was able to arrive at this identification is not clear since the object was exhibited with the shanks together and the inner surfaces completely hidden.

[6]) Cox and Cameron, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, V, pp. 21-3 (40), pl. 21. The shanks appear to be joined at the top by a short bar, perhaps with a hinge at each end; there are 12 serrations which interlock, and there is no indication of any bar connecting the short "handles".

with three other tools which "suggest the equipment either of a barber or of a surgeon" [1].

The purpose of the Thames implement is obscure, the more so since its decoration suggests a ritual application, perhaps connected with the cult of Cybele and Attis if the busts crowning the shanks are thus correctly identified. It is not, however, suited for use either as a "forceps" or as a "cracker", both of which descriptions have been applied to it, though there is some justification for regarding it as a species of "clamp", particularly in view of the clear evidence of strong pressure having been exerted. That such pressure would have been necessary had the object been employed merely as a goffering iron or for crimping the hair [2] seems, on the other hand, unlikely, and a similar objection may also be raised to the idea that it was used as a clamp to prevent haemorrhage in the castration of priests of Cybele.

This last suggestion [3], although widely accepted, is also open to more serious criticism on grounds already indicated by Cumont [4] and Cox and Cameron [5]. Not only is there no evidence for the use of a clamp of this type in ancient surgery, but, more specifically, no such clamp is mentioned in the description of castration given by Paul of Aegina [6]. The operation was, moreover, forbidden by law from the time of Domitian [7], and, most important, the castration of priests of Cybele was not in any case a surgical operation, but a self-inflicted mutilation voluntarily accomplished in a moment of frenzy with a sherd, a sharp stone, or a bronze knife or sword [8].

If the instrument is indeed to be connected with the cult of

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[1] *I.e.* a pair of shears, a *culta* or perhaps a razor, and two small objects which may be either double-edged scalpels or twin knives such as were sometimes used as barber's scissors.

[2] Compare the suggestions of Reinach and Cox and Cameron (above p. 110, nn. 4, 6).

[3] See the detailed discussion of Francis, *Proc. Royal Soc. Medicine*, XIX (1926), History of Medicine pp. 95-110, followed by Brend, *Sacrifice to Attis*, p. 325 (App. I).

[4] Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed., p. 225, n. 39.

[5] *Loc. cit.* above p. 110, n. 6.

[6] VI, 68.

[7] Suetonius, Dom. 7; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, III, col. 1772.

[8] The classical sources are noted by Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, p. 296,

Cybele and Attis, it may perhaps be that it was a curb used in the *taurobolium*, fitted over the nose of the bull to control it in much the same way as barnacles are employed in breaking horses [1]. It must, however, be admitted that there is no evidence for the use of such an implement in connection with the rite and that a similar explanation will hardly account for the object represented on the Eskişehir doorstone.

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nn. 5-7. See also Graillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 f., 296 f.; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, 1927, I, pp. 268 f.; Cumont, *loc. cit.* above p. 111, n. 4.

1) For an example, of uncertain date, see B.M., *R. B. Guide*, 1922, p. 48, fig. 52.

ADDENDA

The following discoveries came to our notice while the manuscript was in the press [1].

The upper part of a bronze figure of Horus *Imperator* [2] was found in 1963 on the surface of a recently ploughed field at Whitequarry Hill, near Kingham, Oxfordshire [3], about a mile from where fragments of pottery and other material of second and third century date were discovered sometime before 1913 [4]. The figure, in military dress [5] and holding a globe in the left hand, is broken off below the waist and lacks both the right arm, which will have been raised, and the double crown which originally rested on the head. Large bronzes of this type are comparatively rare [6], and appear to date from the second or early third century [7].

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[1] See above pp. 84 f.

[2] Ashmolean Museum, no. 1964. 181. Height $4^{3}/_{4}$ inches (when complete *c.* 11 inches).

[3] The Nat. Grid Ref. was estimated by the finder, T. W. F. Cooper Esq., as SP 259264 (1-inch sheet 144). We are grateful to K. S. Painter Esq. for informing us of the discovery, and to H. J. Case Esq., Dr H. W. Catling and D. M. Sturdy Esq. for facilitating examination of the piece and eliciting the findspot.

[4] See VCH, *Oxfordshire*, I, p. 340 (*s.v.* Kingham).

[5] For the *Imperator* type in general *cf. Bull. soc. roy. d'arch. d'Alexandrie*, XIII (1910), pp. 177-83; XVII (1919), pp. 184-7; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXIII (1925), pp. 176 f., and for the military attire *cf.* also Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 40, n. 82; *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIV (1951), pp. 61 f.; *Proc. American Phil. Soc.*, CV (1961), pp. 368-93.

[6] Examples known to us are: A) Sinadino Coll. (Sieglin, *Ausgrabungen in Alexandrien*, I (Text), pp. 158-9, n. 76, fig. 93 (p. 149)). B) B.M., no. 36051 (upper part only) (unpublished, but *cf. Revue archéologique*, XXXIII (1877), p. 25; III (1904), p. 116). C) B.M., no. 36062 (*Rev. arch.*, XXXIII (1877), pp. 23-5; III (1904), p. 116; B.M., *Guide to the 4th, 5th & 6th Egyptian Rooms*, p. 275 (13); *Mélanges Maspero*, II, p. 228, pl. II; Ross, *Art of Egypt through the Ages*, p. 240). D) Louvre, no. E7977 (*Coll. J. Gréau, Bronzes antiques*, pp. 170-1 (849), pl. XVII; *Rev. arch.*, III (1904), p. 116; *Mélanges Maspero*, II (*Mém. inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LXVII), pp. 225-31, pls. I-II). E) Moscow, State Pushkin Museum, no. 2985 (Pavlov, *Egipetskaya skulptura v Gosudarstvennom Muzee izobrazitelnîkh iskusstv im A. S. Pushkina*, pp. 89-91, pl. 60; *Pamyatniki iskusstva drevnego Egipta v muzeyakh Sovetskogo Soyuza*, pl. 113).

[7] The piece will shortly be published. See also Ashmolean Museum, *Report of the Visitors*, 1964.

A somewhat worn faience shawabti of the Late Period (probably 30th dyn.) [1] was found in 1964 about 100 yards from the bank of the Colne Brook to the east of Larbourne Farm, Thorney, near Iver, Buckinghamshire [2]. Recent discoveries in and around ballast heaps from gravel excavations [3] on this site have included animal bones of prehistoric and Roman date, four antler picks, many fragments of Romano-British pottery and tiles and a few pieces of mediaeval pottery. Fragments of Roman pottery were also turned up some years ago when foundations for pylons were being prepared [4].

Another faience shawabti of the Late Period (probably 25th dyn.) [5] was found in 1952 partly buried in loose sandy soil about 20 yards back from the high tide line at Frinton, Essex [6], the condition of the piece suggesting, however, that it was lost in recent times [7].

[1] Height 7 1/2 inches.

[2] *London and Middlesex Arch. Soc., Bulletin*, no. 8 (mid-April 1964), p. 10; *Middlesex Advertiser and County Gazette* (Yiewsley-West Drayton), 22 May 1964; *Uxbridge Weekly Post*, 27 May 1964. The two press reports include photographs.

[3] *Cf.* above p. 87.

[4] We are grateful to M. Bawtree Esq. and A. H. Cox Esq. for much information and to the former also for press cuttings and colour transparencies.

[5] Height 2 5/8 inches. Name: Nesdjehuty born of Denitenhapy.

[6] For Romano-British finds at Frinton see VCH, *Essex*, III, p. 133.

[7] We are grateful to J. E. Blackwell Esq. for information and for allowing us to examine the piece.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Pl. XII
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Pls. XIII: XIV
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Pl. XVII
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Pl. XX, 1
Photo: The British Museum; reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees.

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PLATES I—XX

PLATE I

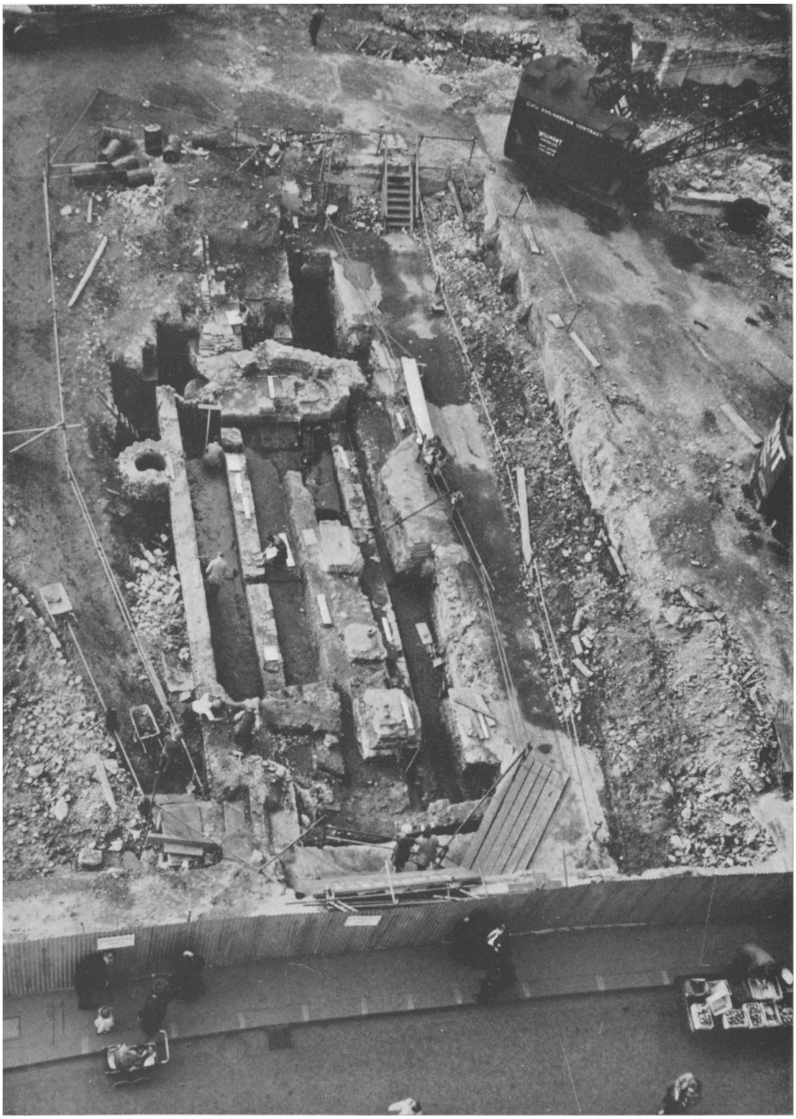
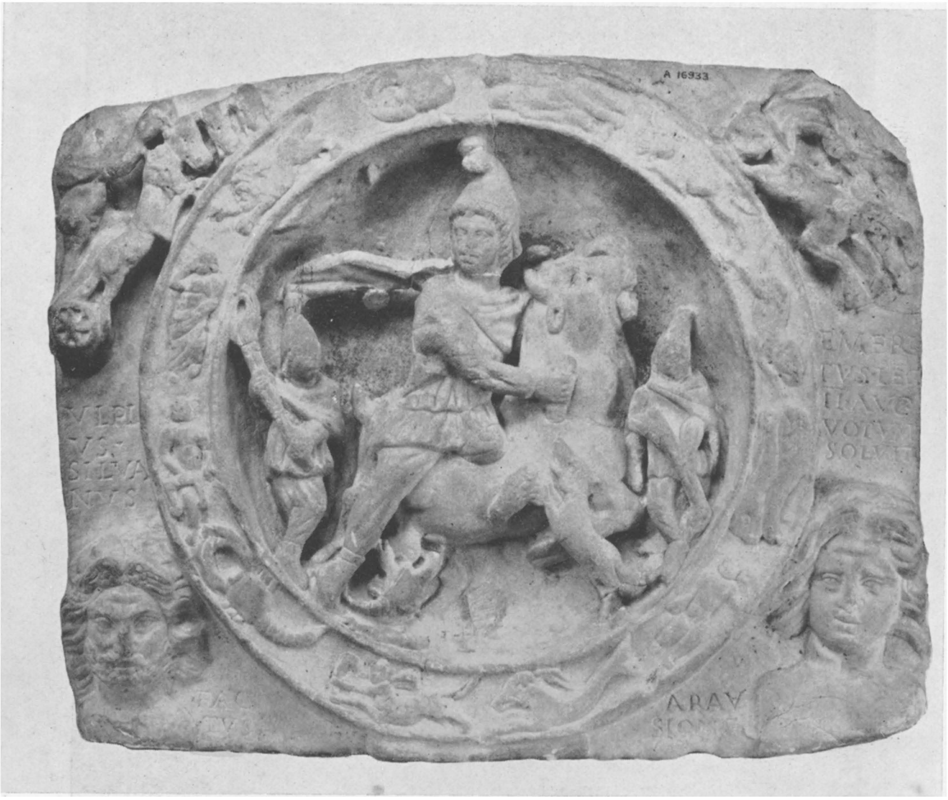


Plate II


A 16933
VLPI
VS
SILVA
NVS
EMERI
TVS LEG
II AVG
VOTVM
SOLVIT
FAC
TVS
ARAV
SIONE

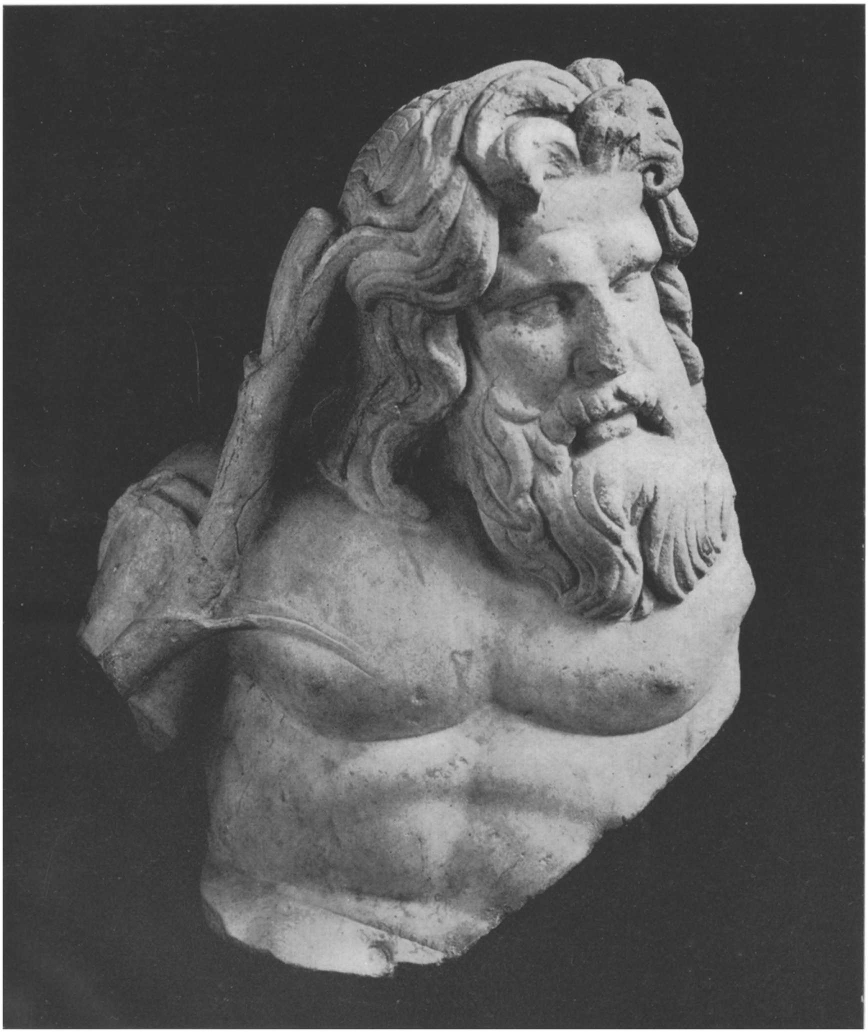
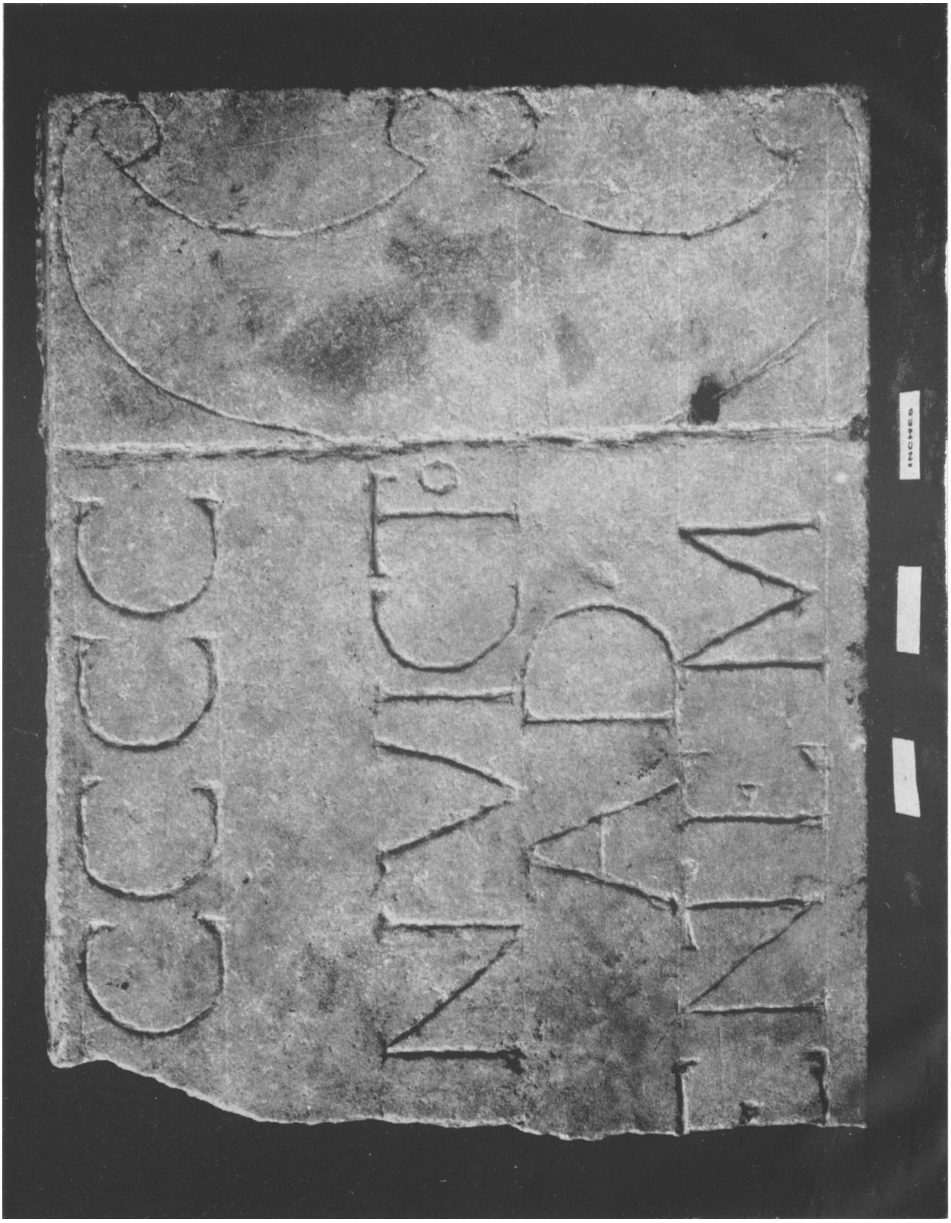
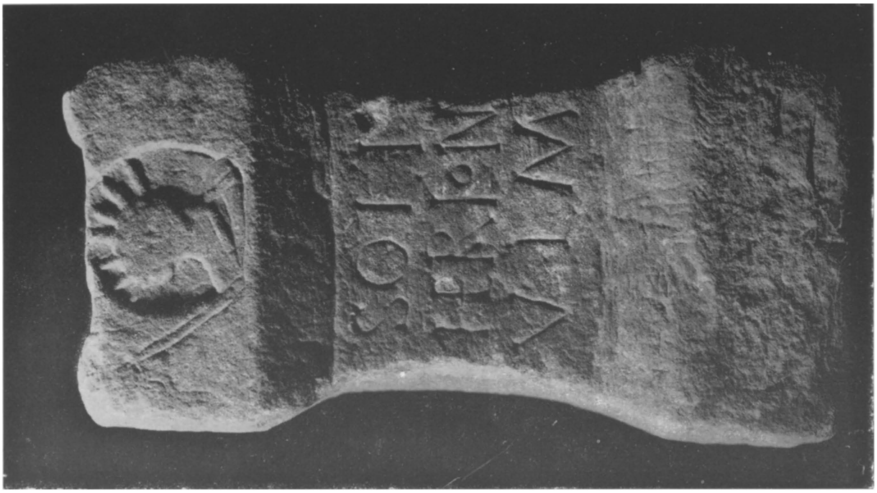


PLATE IV





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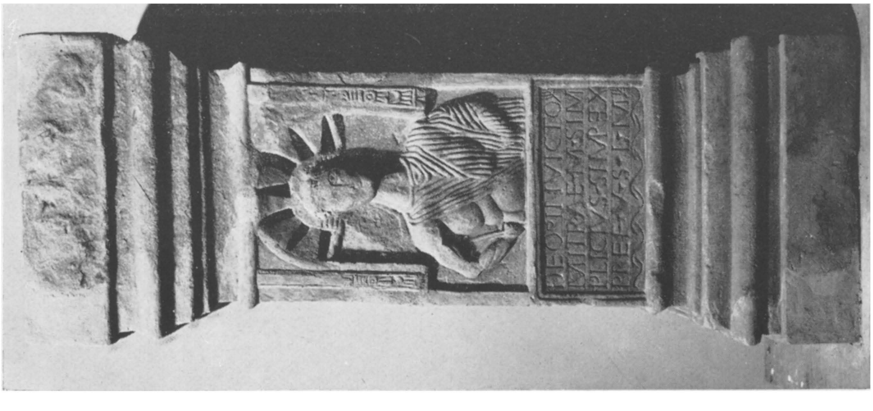

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PLATE VI

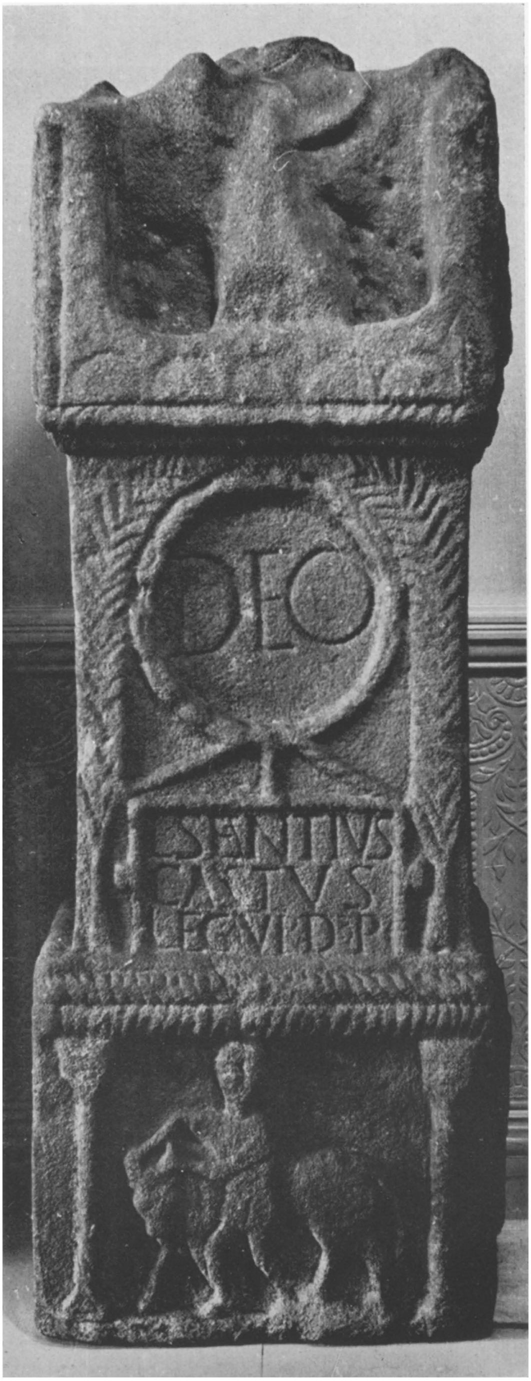
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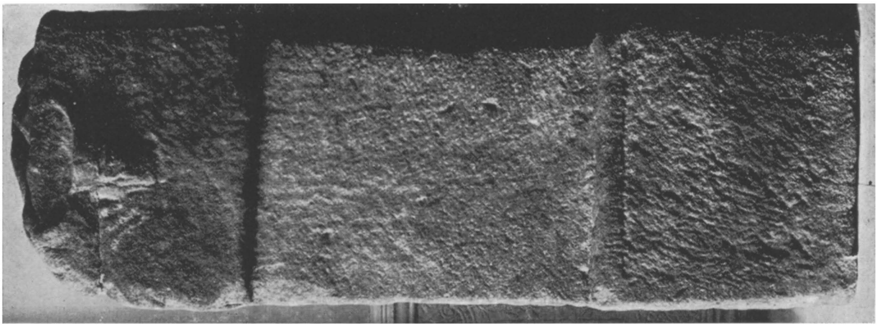
PLATE VII



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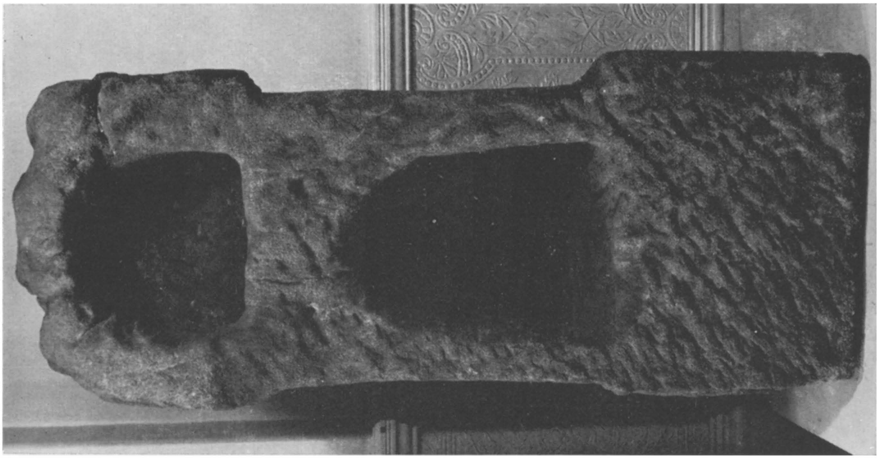

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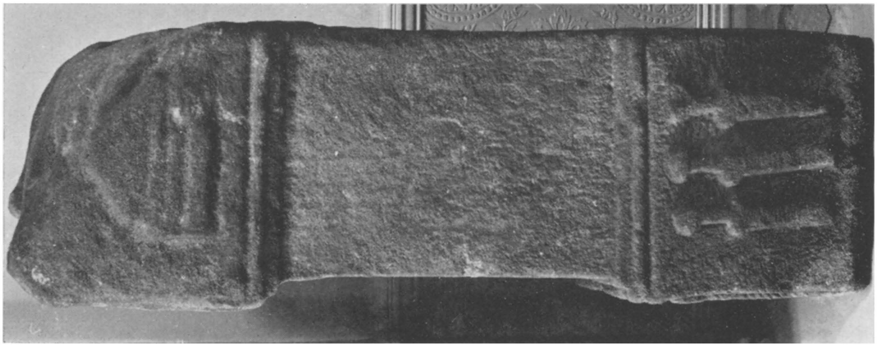

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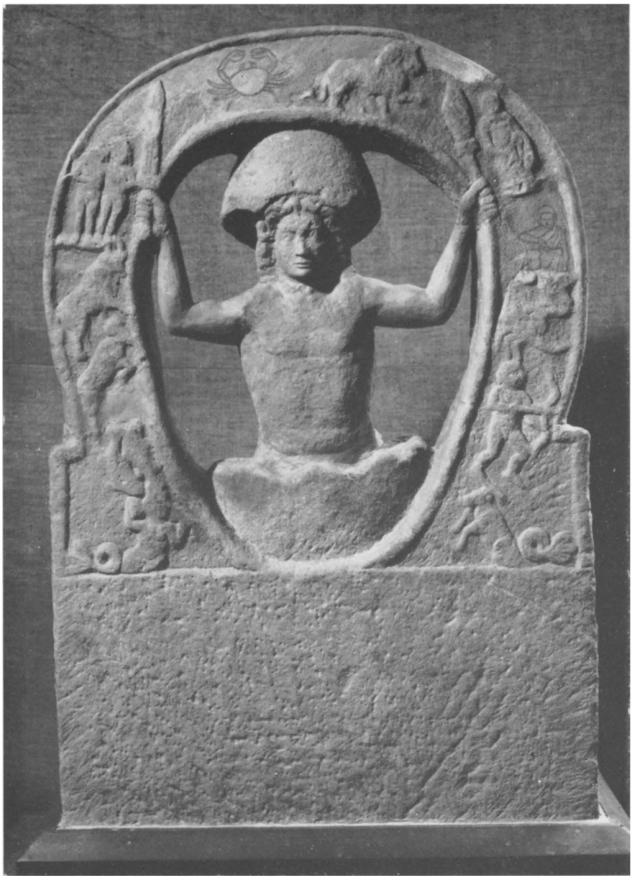


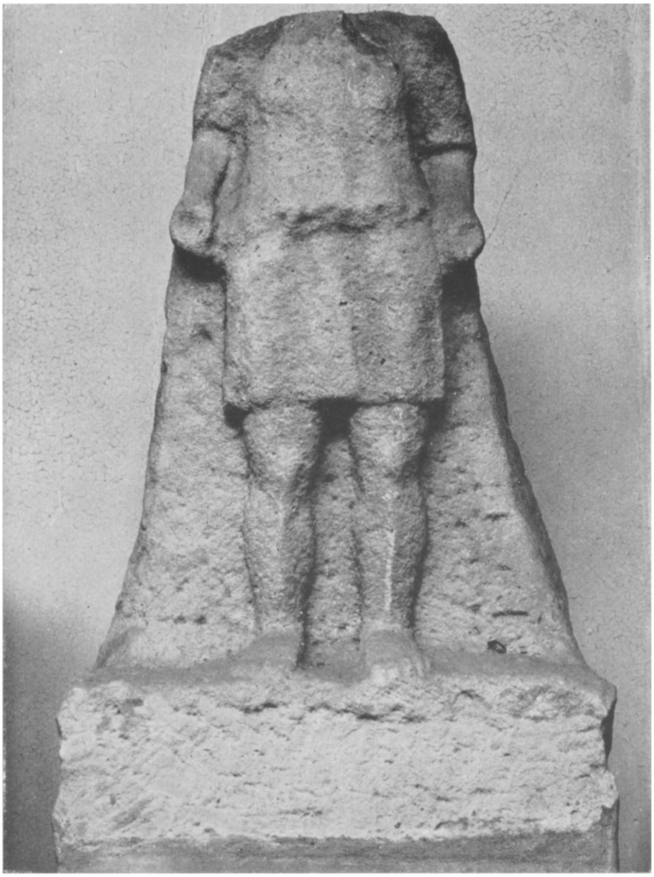


PLATE X

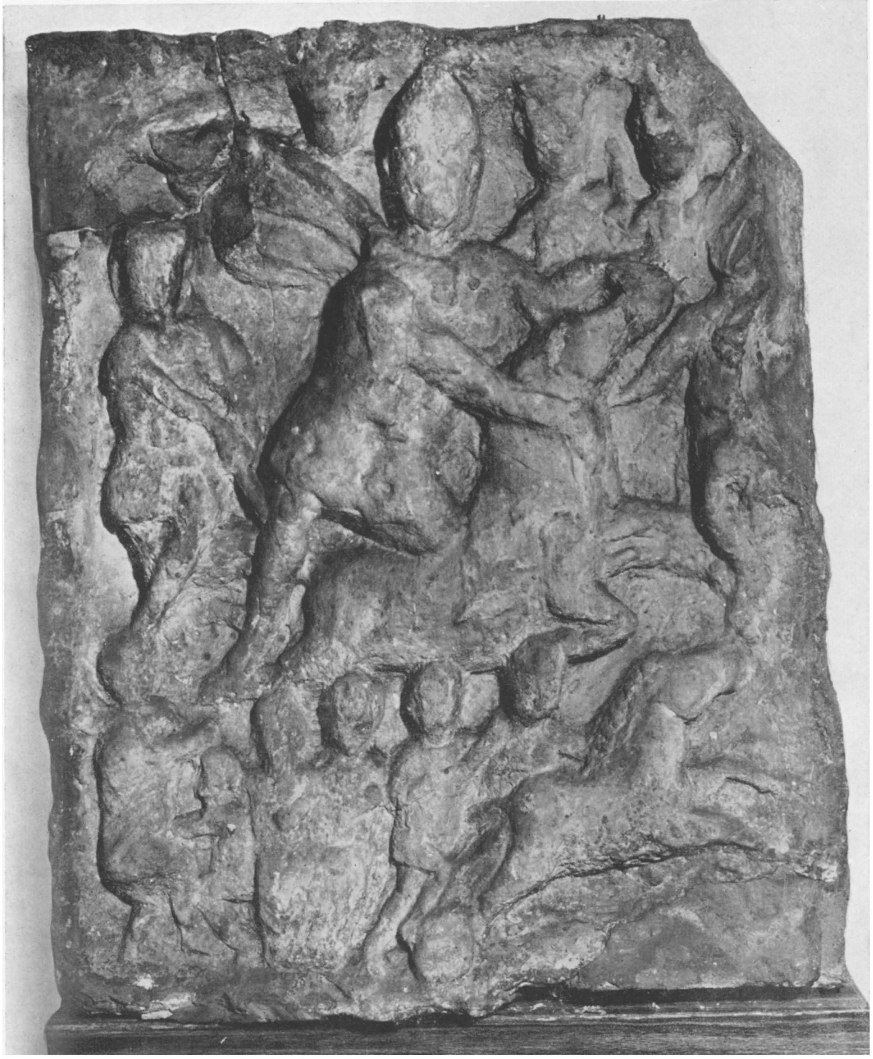


Plate XI

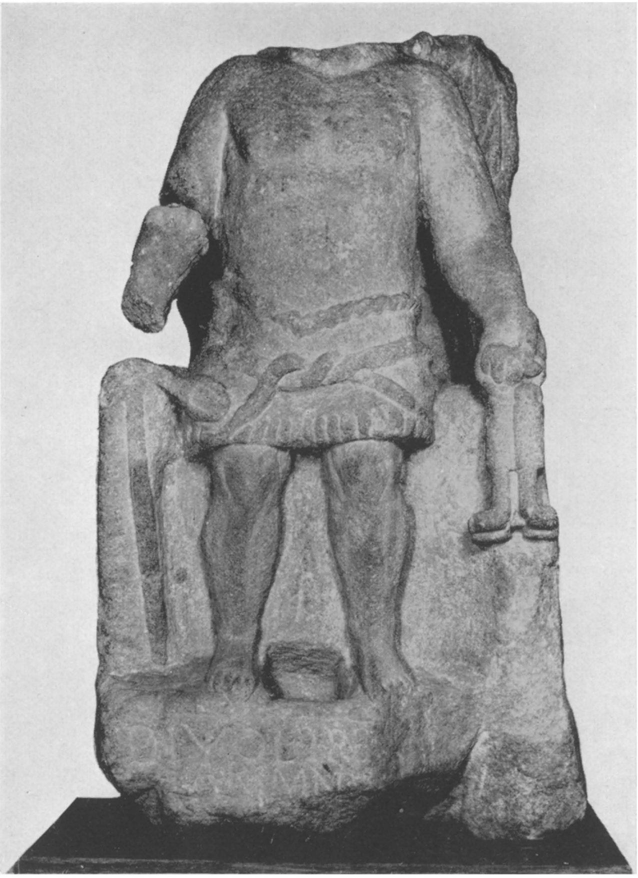


PLATE XII

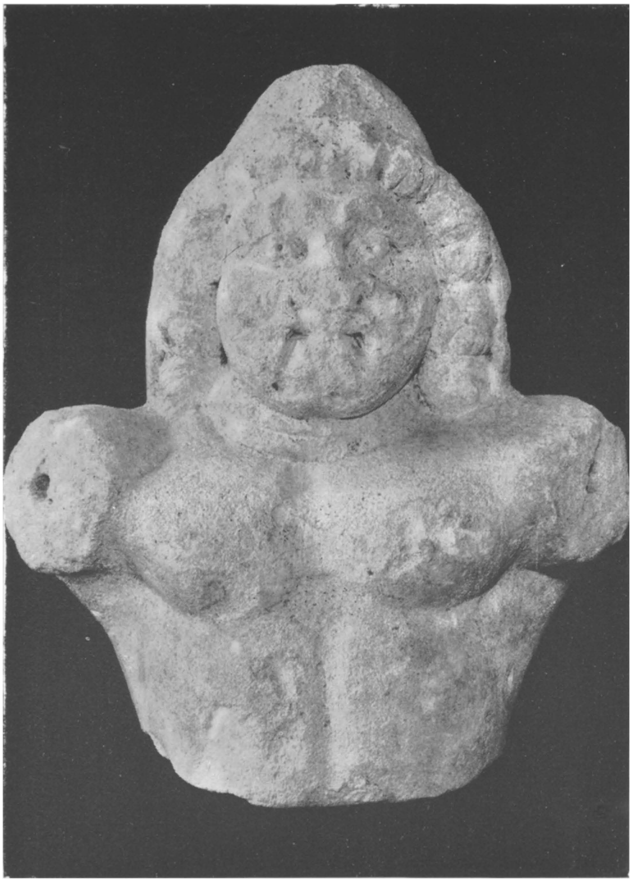


PLATE XIII

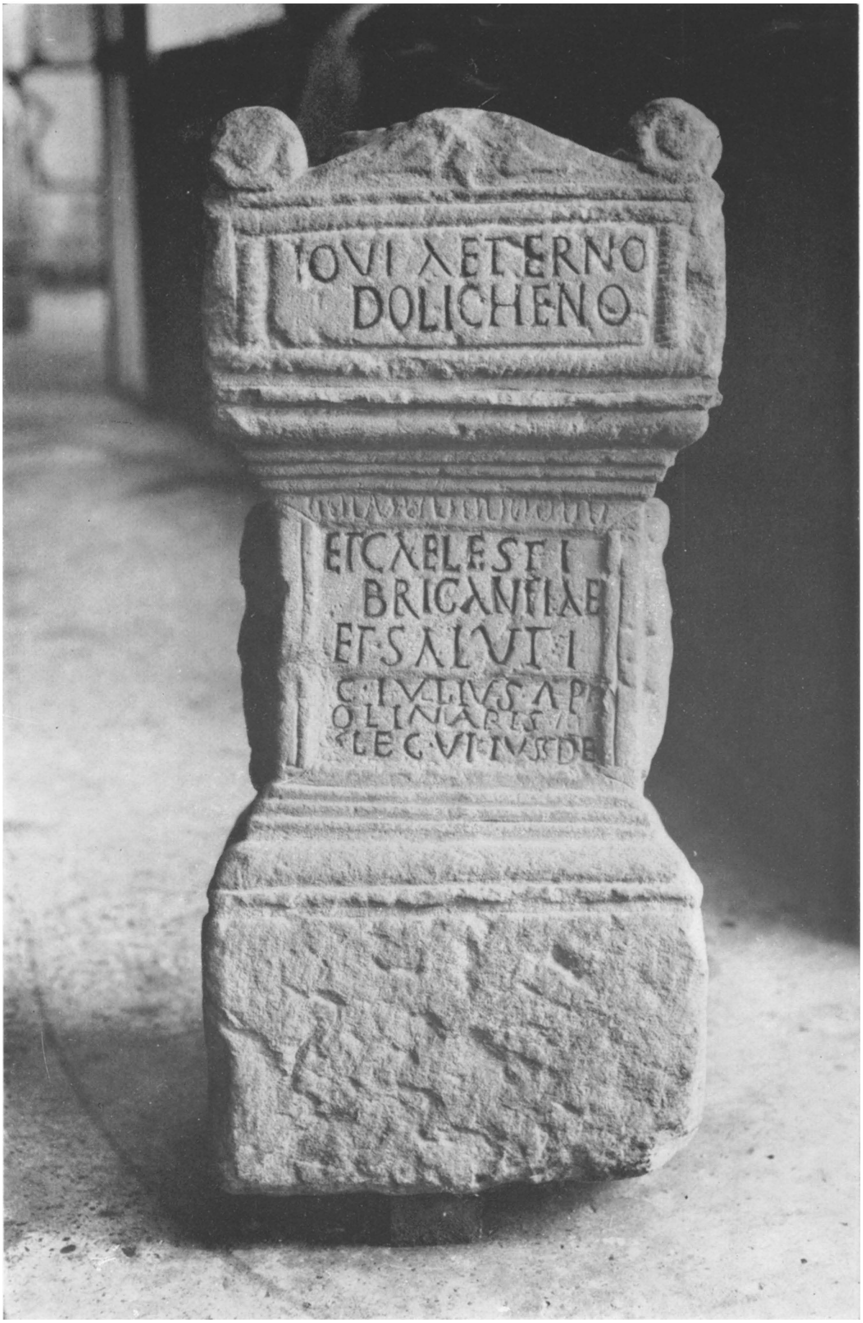
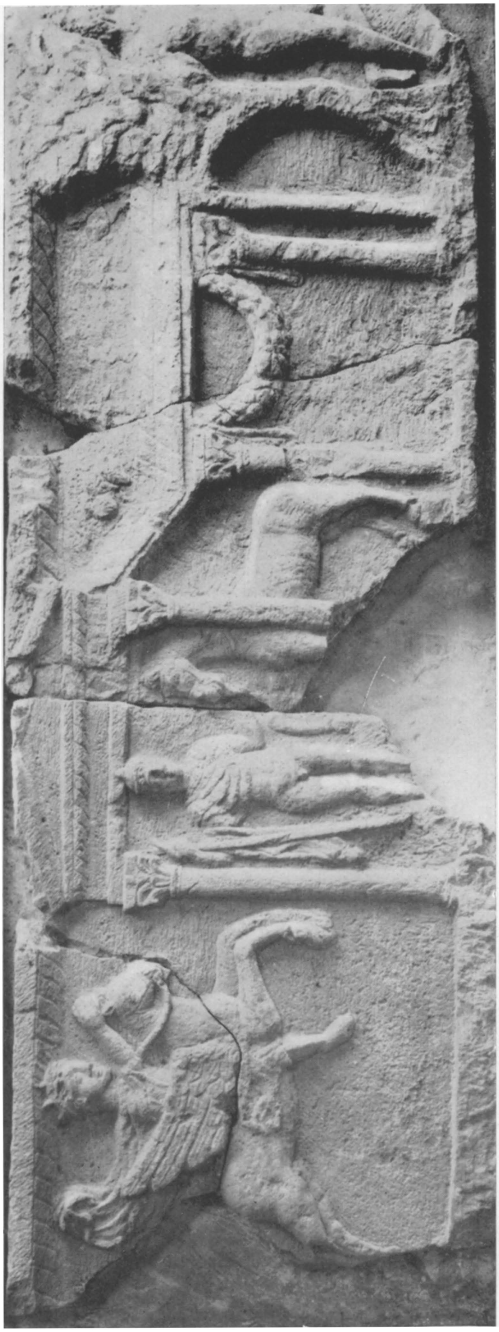

IOVI AETERNO
DOLICHENO
ET CAELESTI
BRIGANTIAE
ET·SALVTI
C·IVLIVS·AP
OLINARIS
LEG·VI·IVSS DE

PLATE XIV



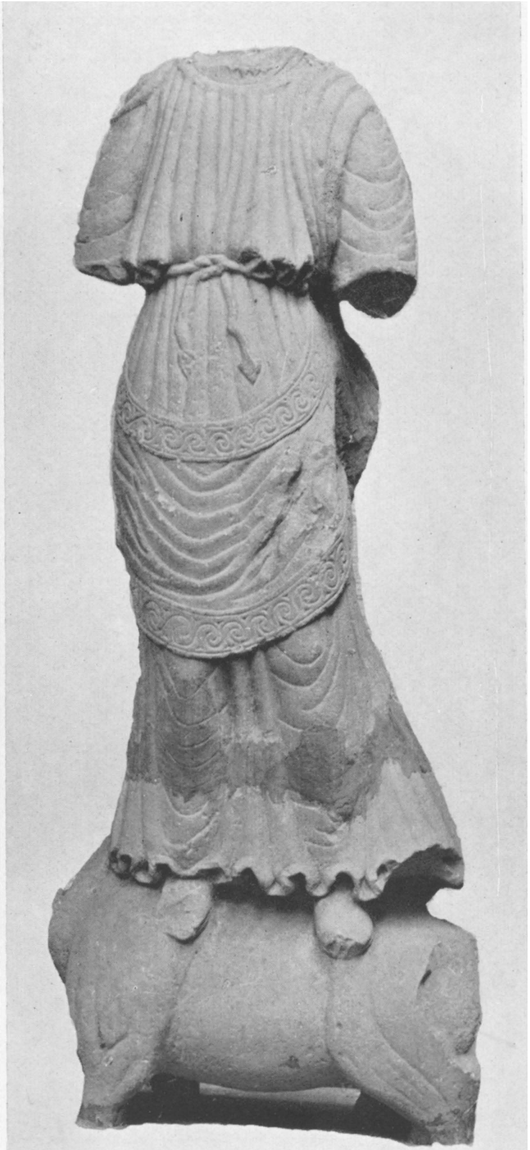
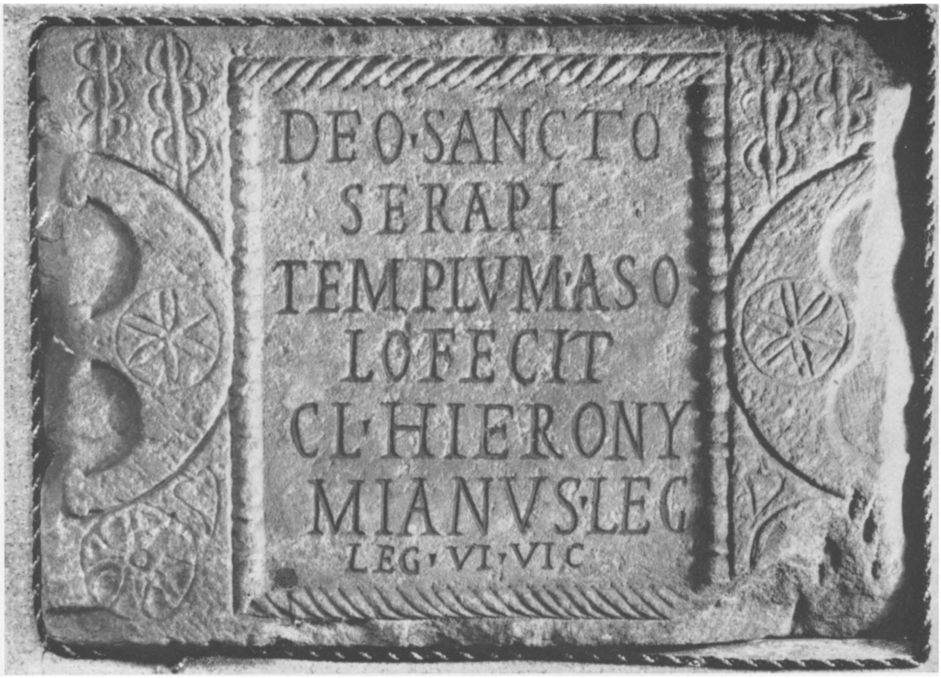


PLATE XVI


DEO·SANCTO
SERAPI
TEMPLVM·ASO
LOFECIT
CL·HIERONY
MIANVS·LEG
LEG·VI·VIC

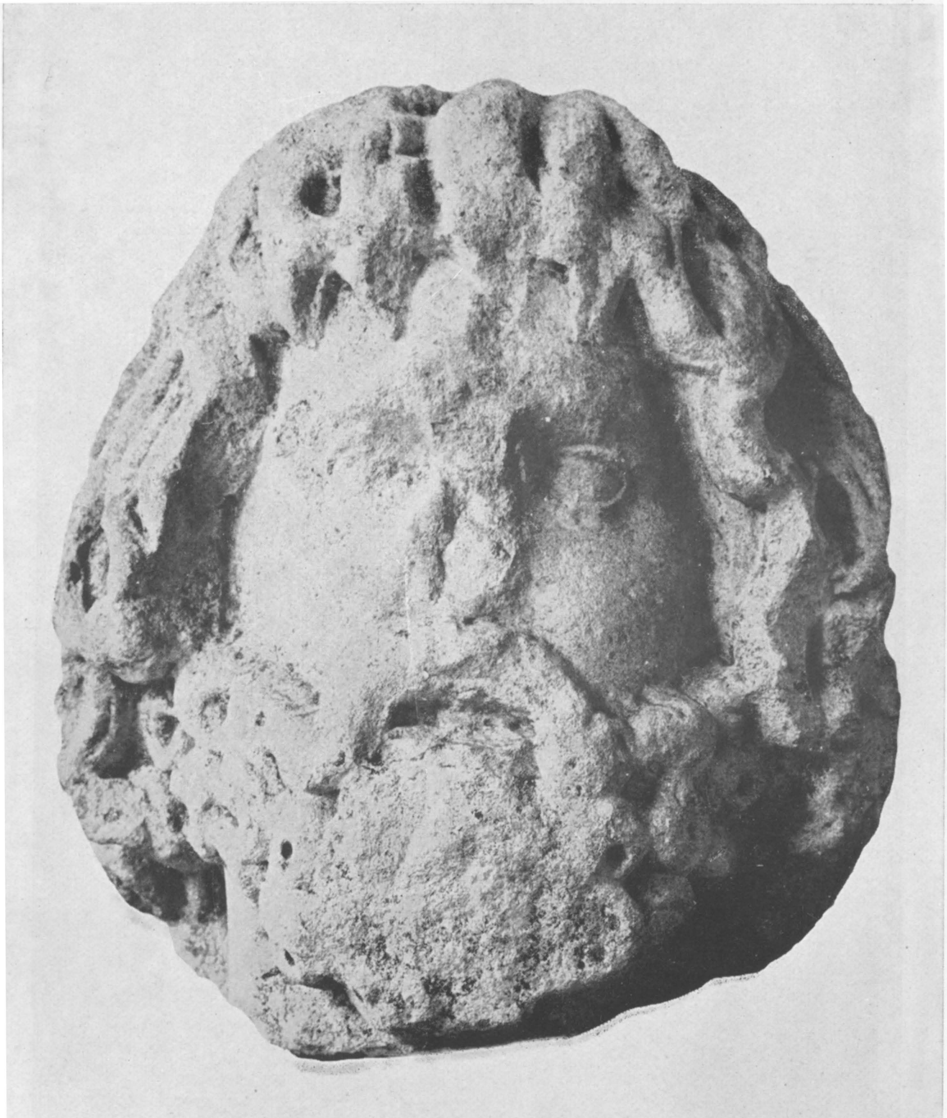
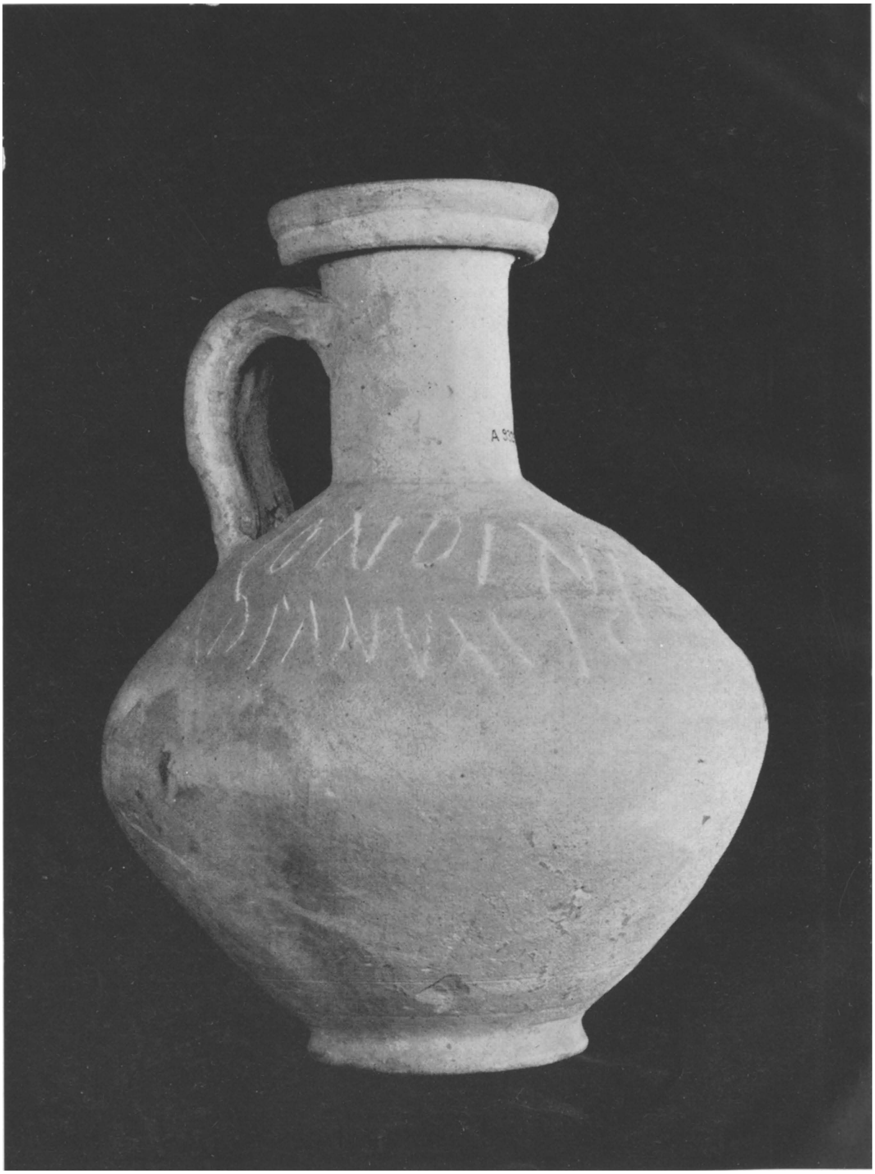
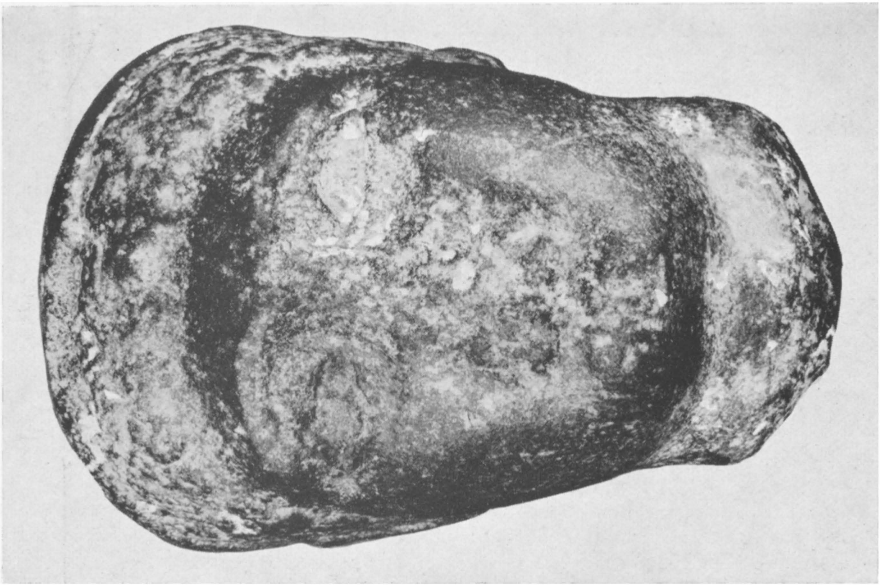


Plate XVIII





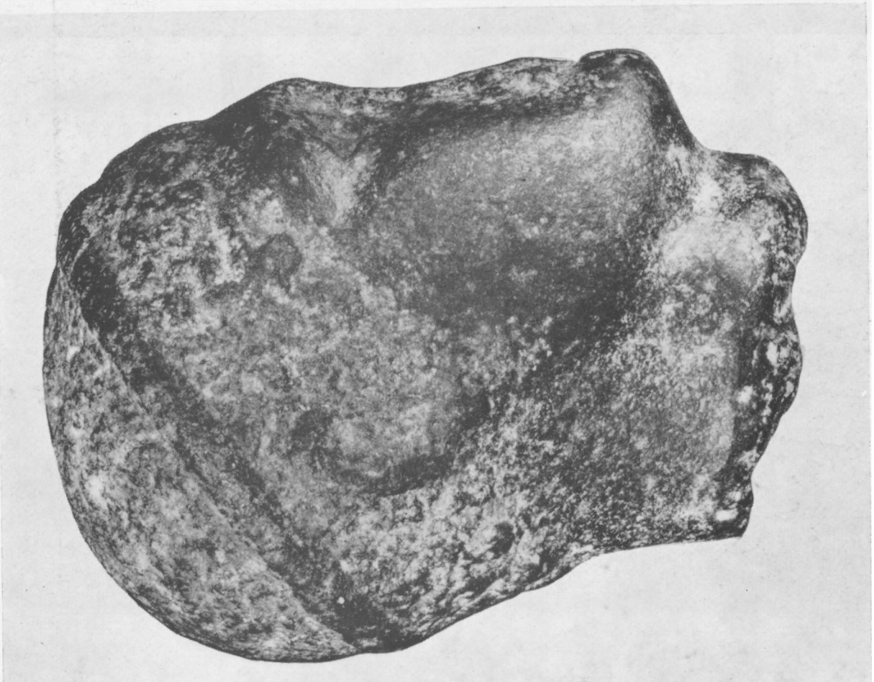
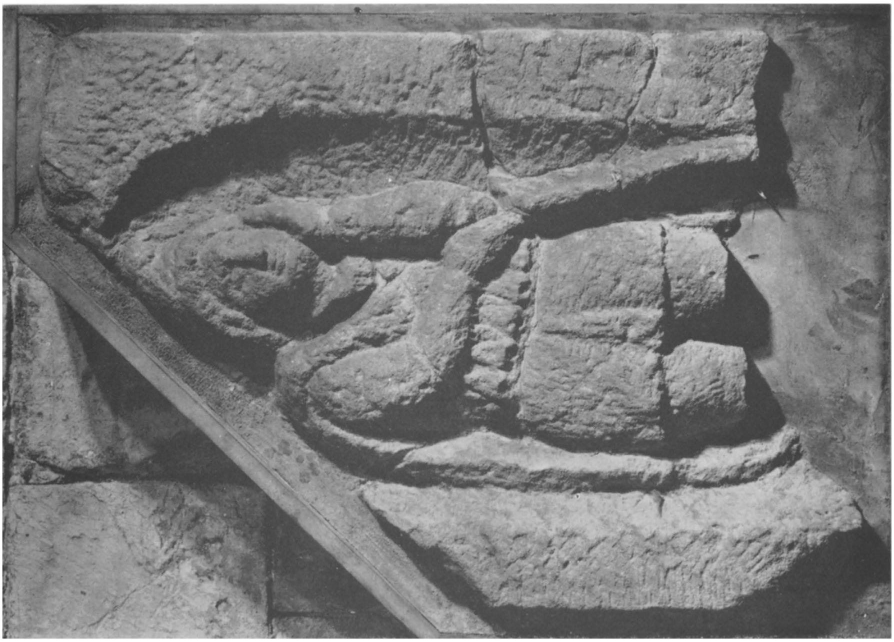


PLATE XX



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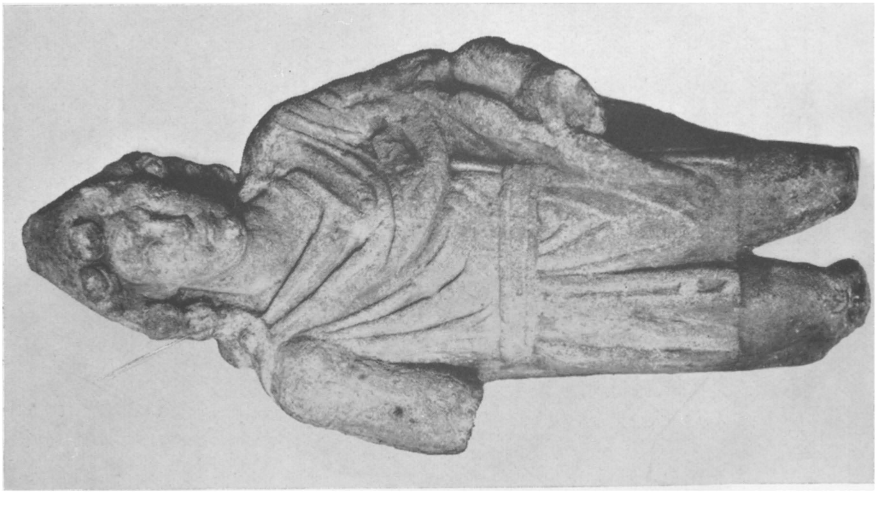

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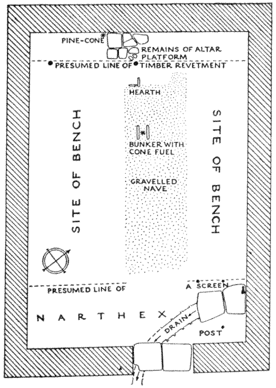
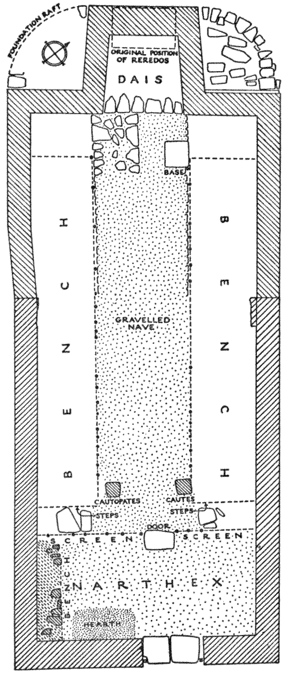

PINE-CONE
REMAINS OF ALTAR PLATFORM
PRESUMED LINE OF TIMBER REVETMENT
HEARTH
SITE OF BENCH
BUNKER WITH CONE FUEL
GRAVELLED NAVE
SITE OF BENCH
PRESUMED LINE OF
A SCREEN
NARTHEX
DRAIN
POST

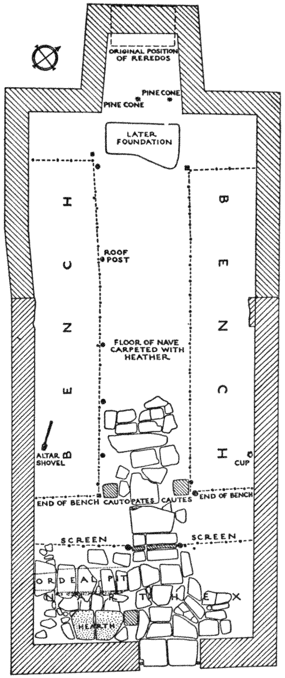
CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE I

0 5 SCALE OF FEET 15 20


FOUNDATION RAFT
ORIGINAL POSITION OF REREDOS
DAIS
BASE
BENCH
GRAVELLED NAVE
BENCH
CAUTOPATES
CAUTES
STEPS
STEPS
SCREEN
DOOR
SCREEN
BENCH
NARTHEX
HEARTH

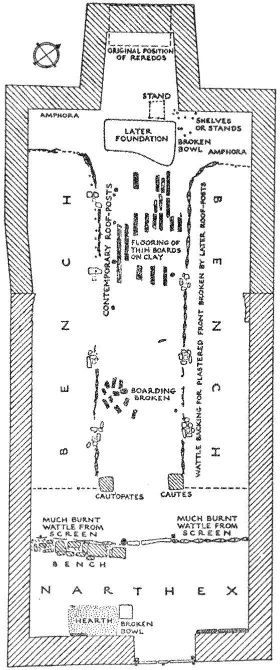
CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE IIA

0 5 SCALE OF FEET 15 20


ORIGINAL POSITION OF REREDOS
PINE CONE
PINE CONE
LATER FOUNDATION
BENCH
ROOF POST
FLOOR OF NAVE CARPETED WITH HEATHER
BENCH
ALTAR
SHOVEL
CUP
END OF BENCH
CAUTOPATES
CAUTES
END OF BENCH
SCREEN
SCREEN
ORDEAL PIT
NARTHEX
HEARTH

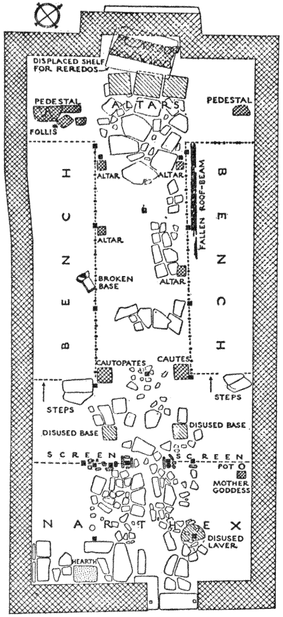
CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE IIB

0 5 SCALE OF FEET 15 20


ORIGINAL POSITION OF REREDOS
STAND
AMPHORA
LATER FOUNDATION
SHELVES OR STANDS
BROKEN BOWL
AMPHORA
BENCH
CONTEMPORARY ROOF-POSTS
FLOORING OF THIN BOARDS ON CLAY
WATTLE BACKING FOR PLASTERED FRONT BROKEN BY LATER ROOF-POSTS
BENCH
BOARDING BROKEN
CAUTOPATES
CAUTES
MUCH BURNT WATTLE FROM SCREEN
MUCH BURNT WATTLE FROM SCREEN
BENCH
NARTHEX
HEARTH
BROKEN BOWL

CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEVM
THIRD CENTURY STATE STAGE IIC

0 5 SCALE OF FEET 15 20


DISPLACED SHELF FOR REREDOS
PEDESTAL
ALTARS
PEDESTAL
FOLLIS
ALTAR
ALTAR
FALLEN ROOF-BEAM
ALTAR
BENCH
BROKEN BASE
ALTAR
BENCH
CAUTOPATES
CAUTES
STEPS
STEPS
DISUSED BASE
DISUSED BASE
SCREEN
SCREEN
POT
MOTHER GODDESS
NARTHEX
DISUSED LAVER
HEARTH

CARRAWBURGH MITHRAEUM
FOURTH CENTURY STATE

0 5 SCALE OF FEET 15 20